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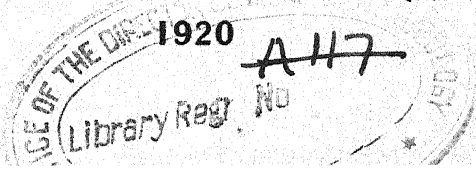
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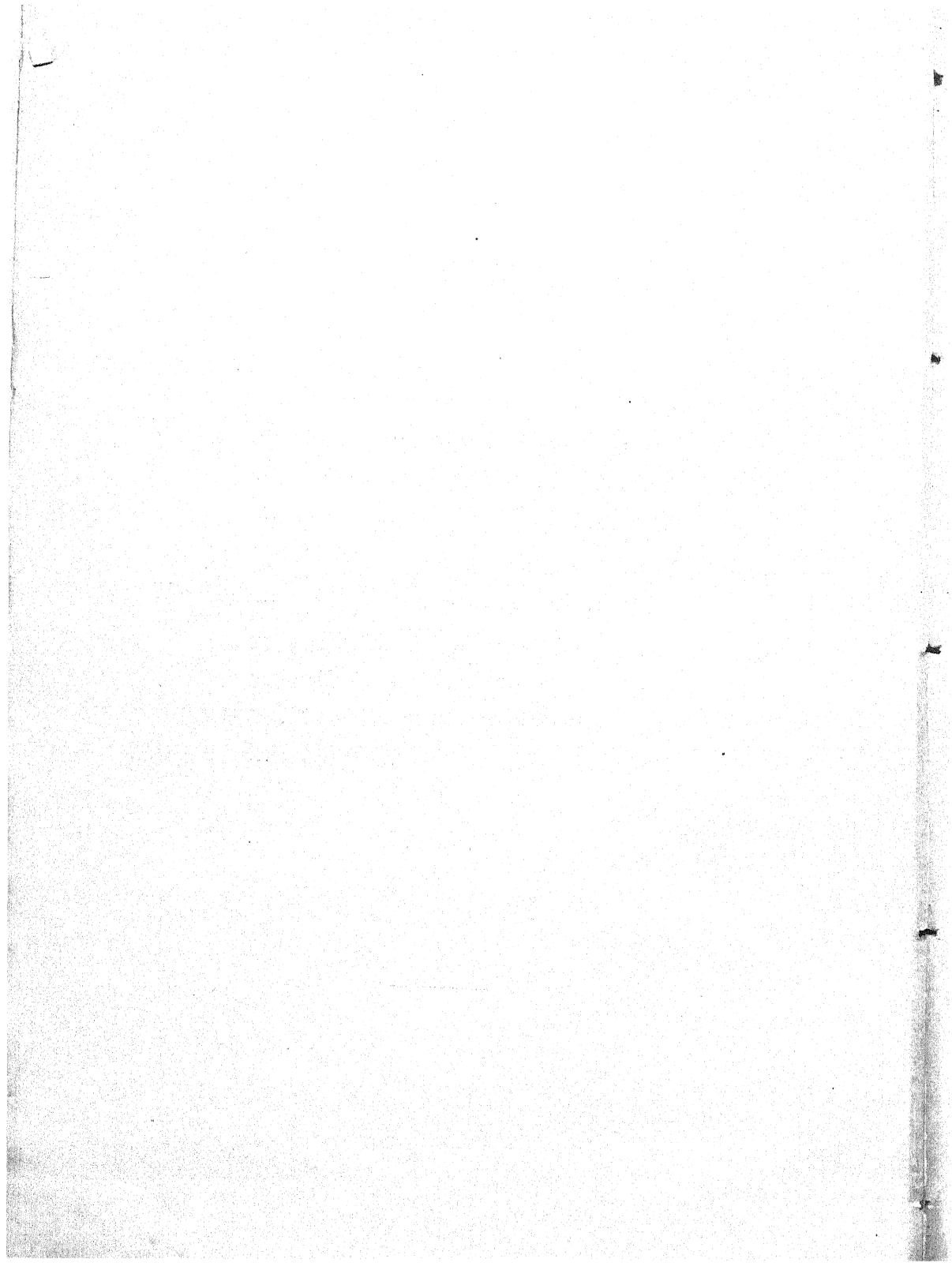
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THE ĀJĪVIKAS

A Short History of their Religion and Philosophy

PART I

HISTORICAL SUMMARY

Introduction

The History of the Ājīvikas can broadly be divided into three periods in conformity with the three main stages of development through which their doctrines had passed. The general facts about these periods are summed up below with a view to indicate the precise nature of the problems that confront us in the study of each. The periods and problems are as follows :—

1. PRE-MAKKHALI PERIOD.

Problems.—The rise of a religious order of wandering mendicants called the Ājīvika from a Vānaprastha or Vaikhānasa order of the hermits, hostile alike in attitude towards the religion of the Brāhmins and the Vaikhānasas, bearing yet some indelible marks of the parent āśrama ; a higher synthesis in the new Bhikṣu order of the three or four āśramas of the Brāhmins.

2. MAKKHALI PERIOD.

Problems.—Elevation of Ājīvika religion into a philosophy of life at the hands of Makkhali

Gosāla; his indebtedness to his predecessors, relations with the contemporary Sophists, and originality of conception.

3. POST-MAKKHALI PERIOD.

Problems—The further development of Ājīvika religion, the process of Aryan colonisation in India, the spread of Aryan culture, the final extinction of the sect resulting from gradual transformation or absorption of the Ājīvika into the Digambara Jaina, the Shivaite and others; other causes of the decline of the faith; the influence of Ājīvika religion and philosophy on Jainism, Buddhism and Hinduism; determination of the general character of a history of Indian religion.

1. PRE-MAKKHALI PERIOD.

The History of the Ājīvikas commenced, as the Buddhist records indicate,¹ with Nanda Vaccha who was succeeded in leadership of the sect by Kisa Samkicca. The third leader of the Ājīvikas and the greatest exponent of their religio-philosophy in the time of Buddha Gotama was Makkhali Gosāla who is often mentioned as the second in the Buddhist list of six heretical teachers.² In the first four Nikāyas and in the most of the Pāli texts and commentaries Nanda Vaccha and Kisa Samkicca are hardly more than mere names,³ since these Buddhist sacred books keep us entirely in the dark regarding the personal history of the two teachers. It is only in the Canonical Jātaka Book and its commentary that we find the mention of a Kisa Vaccha among the seven

¹ Majjhima, I, p. 238; I, p. 524; Aṅguttara, Part III, p. 384.

² E.g., Dīgha, I, p. 48; Majjhima, II, p. 2.

³ Papañcasūdanī (Ceylonese edition), p. 463: Tattha Nando 'ti tassa nāmaṃ, Vaccho 'ti gottam; Kiso 'ti tassa nāmaṃ, Samkicco 'ti gottam.

chief pupils of a renowned Brāhman hermit and teacher named Sarabhaṅga.¹ The hermit, known as Jotipāla to his parents, is addressed in one of the Jātaka verses by his family name as Kondañña (Sk. Kaundīnya²). His hermitage was built on the banks of Godhāvārī, in the Kaviṭṭha forest. Seeing that his hermitage became crowded, and there was no room for the multitude of ascetics to dwell there he ordered most of his chief pupils to go elsewhere, taking with them many thousands of ascetics. But Kisa Vaccha was one of those who, following the instruction of their teacher, went away alone. He came to live in the city of Kumbhavatī, in the dominion of King Daṇḍakī. It is related in the Jātaka that this king having sinned against Kisa Vaccha, the guileless hermit, was destroyed with his realm, excluding its three subordinate kingdoms, of which the Kings Kāliṅga, Atthaka and Bhīmaratha were among the lay followers of Sarabhaṅga.³ The Jātaka literature of the Buddhists also preserves a brief account of another Brāhman hermit called Saṁkicca, who like Sarabhaṅga is honoured as a Bodhisatta.⁴ It is to be judged from Saṁkicca's allusion to Kisa Vaccha's humiliation in the past that he was a successor of the latter.⁵ But neither Kisa Vaccha nor Saṁkicca is represented in the Jātaka as a leader of the Ājīvika sect. Further, in view of the discrepancy that exists between the two names, by no stretch of imagination can Kisa Vaccha be transformed into Nanda Vaccha. The same difficulty arises in connection with the two names Saṁkicca and Kisa Saṁkicca, since the epithet Kisa (lean), applied to the second name, was apparently meant to

¹ Jātaka No. 522.

² Fausböll's Jātaka, V, p. 140.

³ Fausböll's Jātaka, V, p. 135.

⁴ *Ibid*, V, p. 151; V, p. 277.

⁵ *Ibid*, V, p. 267.

distinguish the Ājīvika leader from all his namesakes, Saṃkicca and the rest. In point of fact, then, there is no other ground to justify the identification of Kisa Vaccha with Nanda Vaccha, or of Saṃkicca with Kisa Saṃkicca, than the fact that the views of Sarabhaṅga, the teacher of Kisa Vaccha, bear *a priori*, like those of the hermit Saṃkicca, a close resemblance to the ethical teaching of Makkhali Gosāla at whose hands the Ājīvika religion attained a philosophical character. Without being dogmatic on such a disputable point as this, I cannot but strongly feel that all possible enquiries concerning Nanda Vaccha and Kisa Saṃkicca are sure to lead the historian back to a typical representative of the Vānaprastha or Vaikhānasa order of Indian hermits, such as Sarabhaṅga. The same, I believe, will be the inevitable result, if we enquire into the Jaina history of Gosāla Maṅkhaliputta. The 15th section of the 5th Jaina Aṅga, commonly known as the Bhagavatī Sūtra, contains a quaint story of six past reanimations of Gosāla, consummated by his present reanimation as Maṅkhaliputta.¹ It is stated that Gosāla in his first human existence was born as Udāi Kuṇḍiyāyana who left his home early in youth for religious life, and that after having acquired Saṃkhānam (higher knowledge), he underwent the seven changes of body by means of reanimation. The seven reanimations were undergone successively by Gosāla since his Udāi-birth in the bodies of

- (1) Eṇejjaga (Sk. Rīṇañjaya), outside Rāyagiha, for 21 years ;
- (2) Mallarāma, outside Uddaṇḍapura, for 21 years ;
- (3) Maṇḍiya, outside Campā, for 20 years ;
- (4) Roha, outside Vāṇārasi, for 19 years ;

¹ See extracts from the Bhagavatī in Rockhill's Life of the Buddha, Appendix II, p. 252.

(5) Bhāraddai (Sk. Bhāradvāja), outside Ālabhiyā, for 18 years ;

(6) Ajjuṇa Gomāyuputta, outside Vesāli, for 17 years ;

(7) Gosāla Maṅkhaliputta, at Sāvatti in Hālāhalā's pottery bazar, for 16 years.

One need not be surprised if in this fanciful enumeration and chronology of the seven reanimations undergone by Gosāla since his Udāi-birth during a period of 117 years there is preserved a genealogical succession of seven Ājīvika leaders, together with a list of such successive geographical centres of their activities as Rāyagiha, Uddandapura, Campā, Vāṇāraṣi, Ālabhiyā, Vesāli and Sāvatti. This is at any rate the only legitimate inference to be drawn from the manner in which Gosāla Maṅkhaliputta is made to enumerate and describe his reanimations in the Bhagavatī. It is not difficult to ascertain that Gosāla used the word 'reanimation' rather figuratively, in a secondary sense. He did not mean thereby that one teacher having died, was reborn as another, but that one leader having passed away, the spirit of his teaching was continued in a reanimated or rejuvenated form in the teaching of his successor. Let me cite a passage from Professor Leumann's translation of the extracts from the Bhagavatī, Section XV, in illustration of the point at issue. Gosāla is represented, in the 16th year of his career as an Ājīvika teacher, as declaring :

"With the seventh change, I left in Sāvatti in Hālāhalā's pottery bazar the body of Ajjuṇa and entered that of Gosāla Maṅkhaliputta for the space of 16 years."¹ Here by the 'space of 16 years' he referred, as is evident from his history in the Bhagavatī, only to

¹ Leumann's Extracts from the Bhagavatī, XV. See Rockhill's *Life of the Buddha*, Appendix II, p. 254.

the interval of time reckoned from the year of his succession as an Ājīvika leader, and certainly not to the period which had elapsed since his real birth-day. This suspicion is forced upon us as we remember that Sāvattthi, where he is said to have been reanimated in his seventh change, is the very city where he became first recognised as a teacher (Jina), and found shelter in the premises of a rich potter woman named Hālāhalā.¹

The Bhagavatī account does not mention the place where Udāi Kuṇḍiyāyana (Sk. Udāyi Kaundīnya) lived, nor does it state the reason why the Udāi-birth was not counted among the past reanimations of Gosāla. But it is clearly stated that Udāi, too, was a homeless recluse who had obtained higher knowledge. Can we not reasonably suppose, even in the midst of such uncertainty, that Udāi Kuṇḍiyāyana of the Jaina Sūtra was, like Sarabhaṅga Koṇḍañña of the Buddhist Jātaka, just a typical representative of an ancient religious order of the hermits? Are we not justified in presuming that the Ājīvika sect sprang originally from a Vānaprastha or Vaikhānasa order of the hermits and gained an independent foothold as the result of its gradual differentiation from the parent āśrama? I would say yes, because accepting this as a working hypothesis the historian can well explain why the Ājīvikas representing as they did a religious order of wandering mendicants, antagonistic in many ways to the religion of Brāhmins and Hermits, should and did retain some clear traces of the austere mode of discipline followed generally by the hermits in the wood, austere enough to be classed promiscuously in certain Buddhist passages² with the practices of the Vānaprastha order. The Bhagavatī account of

¹ Rockhill's *Life of the Buddha*, Appendix II, p. 252. Cf. Hoernle's translation of the *Uvāsagadasāo*, Appendix I, p. 4.

² *Āṅguttara*, Part I, p. 295.

the past reanimations of Gosāla, quaint and fanciful though it is, enables the historian to carry back the history of the Ājīvikas for 117 years counted backwards from Gosāla, and to suppose that a new Bhikṣu order, having kinship with the Jainas and the Buddhists, completely differentiated itself, within a century or more, from a Vānaprastha order from which it arose. It is, at all events, certain that the Ājīvikas had a history before Gosāla, and whether that history commenced with Nanda Vaccha or with Eṇejjaga, both the Buddhist and Jaina records lead us back to a Sarabhaṅga Koṇḍañña or to a Udāi Kuṇḍiyāyana who might be regarded as a distinguished representative of the ancient hermits. To deny this, I am afraid to say, will be just to record the names of a few predecessors of Gosāla, a procedure hitherto followed by the Indianists, *e.g.*, Professor D. R. Bhandarkar and Dr. Hoernle. I have to premise, therefore, that the pre-Makkhali history of the Ājīvikas is the history of a formative period during which they brought about a radical change in the religious life of ancient India by the modification of certain rules and views of the hermits and by the gradual differentiation of their standpoint from that of others.

2. MAKKHALI PERIOD.

The central figure in the history of the Ājīvikas is Makkhali Gosāla whose teaching served to supply a philosophic basis to Ājīvika religion. His career as a recluse covers, according to his history in the Bhagavati, a short period of 24 years, of which the first six were profitably spent in Paṇiyabhūmi, in the company of Mahavīra whom he had met for the first time, in Nālaṁdā near Rāyagiha. After a close association for six years the two ascetics separated in Siddhatthagama on account of a doctrinal difference that arose between them, and

never met afterwards but once in Sāvatti shortly before the ignominious death of Gosāla, which took place 16 years before the Nirvāṇa of Mahāvīra. The bone of contention was a theory of reanimation which Gosāla formulated from his observation of periodical reanimations of plant-life, and generalised it to such an extent as to apply it indiscriminately to all forms of life.¹ 'Gosāla for his part, after the separation, went to Sāvatti, where in Hālāhalā's potter-shop after a six months' course of severe asceticism, he attained Jinahood.' There he became the leader of a sect, called the Ājīviya. In the 24th year of his mendicancy he was visited by six Disācaras or Wanderers with whom he discussed their respective theories. These Disācarās, convinced by his theory of 'the change through reanimation' (bauṭṭa-parihāra), placed themselves under his guidance. It is stated in the Bhagavatī that Gosāla had a severe attack of fever a few weeks before his death and that his words and actions in a state of delirium gave rise to some new tenets and practices of the Ājīviyas, notably the doctrine of eight finalities (aṭṭha caramāim) and the use of four things as drinks and four substitutes. In spite of his last instruction that his body should be disposed of with every mark of dishonour, his disciples 'gave his body a public burial with all honours according to his original instructions.' His death was coincident with an important political event, namely, the war between King Kuniya of Aṃga and King Ceḍaga of Vesālī.

There is indication in the Bhagavatī account of Gosāla that he viewed the grotesque practices of the Brāhman ascetics with contempt. It is related, for instance, that at the sight of the ascetic Vesiyāyaṇa 'sitting with up-raised arms and upturned face in the glare of the sun, while his body was swarming with lice,' he quietly dropped behind, and derisively enquired of the ascetic

¹ "Evaṃ khalu savaṃjīvāvi paritṭāparihāraṃ pariharaṃti."

whether he was a sage or a bed of lice. His conduct provoked the Brāhman ascetic so much that he attempted to strike Gosāla with his magic power. This unpleasant incident happened while Mahāvīra and Gosāla were travelling together, a few months before their separation, from the town Siddhatthagāma to Kummagāma and back.¹

With regard to his early years, it is related in the Bhagavati that he was born in the settlement Saravaṇa, in the vicinity apparently of the city of Sāvatti. He came of low parentage. His father was a Maṅkhali, i.e., a mendicant who earned his livelihood by showing a picture which he carried in his hand. Once on his wanderings Maṅkhali came to Saravaṇa and failing to obtain any other shelter, he took refuge for the rainy season in the cowshed (Gosālā) of a wealthy Brāhman Gobahula, where his wife Bhaddā brought forth a son who became famous as Gosāla Maṅkhaliputta. When grown up, he adopted the profession of his father, that is, of a Maṅkhali. In his wanderings, Gosāla happened to meet the young ascetic Mahāvīra in Nālaṃdā, near Rāyagiha, and observing that the latter, although yet a mere learner, was received with great honour by a rich householder of Rāyagiha, he approached Mahāvīra with the request to accept him as a disciple.

It goes without saying that quaint humour and bitter irony runs through the Bhagavati-account of Maṅkhaliputta Gosāla. There is an attempt throughout, a conscious effort on the part of the Jaina author, to represent the greatest Ājīvika teacher as a person of most contemptible character, a man of low parentage, of low profession, who was induced to adopt the ascetic life by a prospect of material gain, an apostate disciple of Mahāvīra, of a more heinous character than another disciple, Jamāli, the son-in-law of Mahāvīra. He is represented as an

¹ Hoernle's translation of the Uvāsagadasāo, Appendix I, p. 3.

ungrateful wretch who deserted the company of his teacher on account of a doctrinal difference, and shamelessly declared himself to be a Jina, denying his deep indebtedness to his teacher. Even as a teacher and leader of the Ājīvika sect, he is said to have taught all false doctrines and erroneous views which did more harm than good to mankind. He is made to appear as a craze before his death in his words and actions, and confess his shame even to his own followers. But complete and full of historical truth though it is, the Bhagavatī account must be considered as production of a later self-conscious age, and cannot therefore be accepted *en bloc*. As a canonical commentary (Viyāhapannatti, Vyākhyā-prajñapti), the Bhagavatī-sūtra must be taken as later in point of date than some of the Aṅgas, *e.g.*, Āyāraṅga, Sūyagaḍaṅga and Uvāsagadasāo, which are wanting in detail about the personal history of Gosāla, and where the account of his views is more sober.

The historian is apt to commit a great mistake and do injustice to Gosāla, if he accepts without proper examination the Jaina account in the Bhagavatī as a piece of genuine historical record. In view of other records coming from the Buddhists and the Brāhmins which contradict in many points the statements in the Bhagavatī, no implicit reliance can surely be placed on all that the Jaina would have us believe. On closely examining the literature of the Buddhists, we notice that in all the later accounts there is a similar conscious attempt to reconstruct the early history of Gosāla in such a manner as to make him appear as a person of low parentage and vicious character. In these respects the later Jaina and Buddhist traditions agree. For instance, Buddhaghosa in his commentaries, speaks of Gosāla as a servant in the household of a rich man, who walking on a muddy piece of ground, with an

oil-pot in his hand, stumbled from carelessness and began to run away through the fear of his master. The latter ran up and caught the edge of his garment, and he letting go his cloth, fled away naked (acelako hutvā).¹

I leave it to the sober critic to judge if the above story of Gosāla was not a fiction invented by the Buddhist commentator in order to account for the fact that Makkhali was a naked ascetic as all the Ājīvikas were. Buddhaghosa agrees with the Jaina historian in the Bhagavatī in relating that Makkhali came to be called Gosāla from the circumstance of his being born in a cowshed, although he does not expressly mention, like the Jaina, that the name was given by his parents. But the Buddhist commentator differs entirely from the Jaina with regard to the etymology of the name Makkhali, just as Pāṇini, the most celebrated Sanskrit grammarian, differed in this respect from the Jainas and Buddhists as well as from his own commentators. While the Jaina compiler of the Bhagavatī derived the name Maṅkhali from Maṅkha, *i.e.*, a picture carried by a mendicant in his hand (or better, as Dr. Hoernle suggests, the picture of a deity which a beggar carried about him and tried to extract alms from the charitable by showing it, just as in the present day in Bengal such beggars usually carry crude pictures or representations of Śītalā or Olābibi, and in Puri they carry pictures of Jagannāth), the Buddhist commentator Buddhaghosa had recourse to a more fanciful etymology, *viz.*, that the name Makkhali was derived from the warning of his employer expressed in the words "Tāta, mā khalīti," *i.e.*, "My dear man, take care lest you stumble!"²

¹ Sumaṅgala Vilāsinī, I, p. 144.

² Sumaṅgala Vilāsinī, I, p. 144. See Hoernle's Translation of the Uvāsagadasāo, App. II, p. 29; Spence Hardy's Manual of Buddhism, p. 301. Cf. Manorathapūraṇi, the commentary on the Aṅguttaranikāya (Ceylonese edition), p. 287. Makkhalīti mā khalīti vacanam upādāya evaṃ laddhanāmo tīthakaro.

Against these ingenious etymologies of Mankhali and Makkhali, we obtain from Pāṇini an important sūtra setting forth the real import of Maskariṇa, the Sanskrit form of the name. Pāṇini in the sūtra VI. 1. 154, describes the Maskariṇas as a class of wanderers who carried a *maskara* or bamboo staff about them.

“Maskara-maskariṇo veṇu-parivrājakayoḥ.”

On the other hand, Patañjali in his comments on the above sūtra of Pāṇini, suggests that the Maskariṇa was called Maskariṇa not so much because this class of wanderers carried about them a maskara or bamboo staff as because they taught “Mā kṛita karmāṇi, mā kṛita karmāṇi, etc.”—“Don’t perform actions, don’t perform actions; quietism (alone) is desirable to you.”¹

The later glosses on the same sūtra in Kaiyaṭa’s Pradīpa and the Kāśika-vṛitti do not merit any further consideration, as these are based upon the authority of Patañjali’s Mahābhāṣya, and all point to the fact that the maskariṇas denied the efficacy of action.²

With regard to the relation of Makkhali with Mahāvīra, the Buddhist records differ from the Jaina which seeks to represent the former as an apostate disciple of the latter, who became separated from his teacher after a close association for six years spent in Paṇiyabhūmi. This account of Makkhali in the Bhagavatī is contradicted by certain statements met with in the same sūtra and elsewhere.³ First, in the Bhagavatī itself it is stated that Gosāla became recognised as a Jina and a leader of the Ajīviyas two years before Mahāvīra’s Jinahood, and

¹ Bhandarkar’s ‘Ajivikas,’ Indian Antiquary, Vol. XLI, 1912, p. 289; Hoernle’s ‘Ajivikas,’ Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics. Patañjali says, “maskaro’ syāstīti maskarī parivrājakah. Kiṃ tarhi mā kṛita karmāṇi mā kṛita karmāṇi śāntirvaḥ śreyasītyāhāto maskarī parivrājakah.”

² See the quotations in Bhandarkar’s ‘Ajivikas,’ Ind. Ant., Vol. XLI, 1912, p. 270.

³ The point is discussed in Hoernle’s Translation of the Uvāsagadasāo, p. 111, f. n. 255.

that he predeceased the latter by sixteen years. Secondly, the Kalpasūtra relates that Mahāvīra lived one year in Paṇiyabhūmi and six years in Mithilā.

Both the Jaina and Buddhist records agree in speaking of Gosāla as a leader of the Ājīvika sect and the powerful exponent of the Ājīvika system. They also agree in calling the Ājīvikas naked ascetics (acelakas), in differentiating their rules of life from those of the hermits of the Vānaprastha order,¹ in magnifying their uncleanness, in emphasizing their corruption of morals, in imputing a secular motive to their religious life, and in mercilessly criticising their fatalistic creed. In both the records, Sāvātthi is mentioned as the Ājīvika headquarters.² In some of the Buddhist passages we meet with the form Ājīvaka, and the term in either form is explained as meaning a mendicant worse than a person with household ties.³ In a Dialogue of the Jaina Sūtra Kṛitāṅga, Ārdraka, a Jaina teacher, openly accuses Gosāla of sexual immorality.⁴ The Mahāsaccaka sutta of the Majjhima Nikāya preserves a Dialogue where Saccaka, the Jaina, in reply to Buddha's question whether Ājīvikas or the followers of Nanda Vaccha, Kisa Saṃkicca and Makkhali Gosāla, practised the most austere mode of bodily discipline, says that they indulged in all sorts of sensual pleasures.⁵ The Buddhist literature contains a love story

¹ The rules of the Ājīviyas, set forth in the Aupapātika Sūtra (Leumann's edition, p. 80, sec. 120), are the same as those stated in the Majjhima Nikāya, I, p. 318, and in the Dīgha, I, p. 165, sec. 14.

Again, the rules of the Vānaprastha hermits, described in the above Jaina Upāṅga, p. 68, sec. 74, are similar to those stated in the Dīgha, I, p. 166, sec. 14.

² That the Ājīvikas were naked ascetics and that Sāvātthi was their head quarters are clear from two episodes in the Vinaya Mahāvagga VI. 2; VIII. 15. Cf. Ind. Ant., Vol. XLI (1912), p. 288.

³ Majjhima Nikāya, I, p. 483.

⁴ Sūtra Kṛitāṅga (ed. Dhanapati), II. 6. Cf. Jaina-Sūtras, Pt. II, p. 411: "those who use cold water, eat seeds, accept things especially prepared for them, and have intercourse with women, are (no better than) householders, but they are no Śramaṇas."

⁵ Majjhima, I, p. 238.

of an Ājīvika named Upaka, who married Cāpā, the fowler's daughter; and Upaka describes himself as having been a *latṭhihattha*, i.e., a wandering mendicant with a staff in hand. I have reason to believe that in the Buddhist stories of Ciñcā¹ and Sundarī² an evidence is lurking of the immorality and lack of principle of the Ājīvikas, who did not scruple to get the Buddha into trouble by spreading damaging rumours about his character and getting up a murder case through the instrumentality of those two of their womenfolk. Although the stories declare indefinitely that all the heretics were allied in this conspiracy, it is difficult to conceive that such an alliance was possible because of the fact that Sāvatti, where the scene is laid, was predominantly the headquarters of the Ājīvikas, and that the Ājīvikas were in conflict with other heretical sects. But it can be imagined that both Ciñcā³ and Sundarī⁴ either belonged to the Ājīvika order, or had, at any rate, very intimate connection with it. Suffice it to say that we have positive statement from the Buddhist literature⁵ that the Ājīvika community, like the Jaina or the Buddhist, consisted of recluses and householders, both male and female. It is clear that the corruption of their morals which the Buddhists and the Jainas insinuate and exaggerate, is not without foundation, and that some individual cases of moral transgression have only been generalised by their opponents and applied to the whole sect. For it is difficult to imagine that if the Ājīvikas were as a body so viciously immoral and encroached on the decency of the civic society, they could retain, as they did, an important position among the

¹ Jātaka, I, pp. 280, 437, 440; II, pp. 121, 160; III, p. 298; IV, p. 197 f.

² Jātaka, II, p. 415 f.; Dhammapada-Comy. on Verse 306.

³ She is described in the Jātaka, I, p. 280, as a female wandering ascetic in Sāvatti (paribbājikā Sāvattiyaṃ).

⁴ Sundarī, too, is described similarly, *e.g.*, in the Jātaka, II, p. 415.

⁵ *E. g.*, Aṅguttara, Pt. III, p. 304.

rival sects. On the other hand, taking a man as man, and a woman as woman, we can well understand how such states of things came to be among the Ājīvikas, as among all the Orders, the Jaina or the Buddhist, the Śaiva or the Śākta, the Vaiṣṇava or the Christian. The Uvāsagadasāo and the Bhagavatī Sūtra make mention of a few rich lay disciples of Gosāla belonging to the Vaiśya class, *e.g.*, potters and bankers, such as Kuṇḍakuliya, a citizen of Kampillapura, a banker¹; Saddālaputta, a rich potter of Polāsapura²; Hālāhalā, in whose potter-shop in Sāvatti Gosāla found shelter and spent the greater part of his ascetic-life³; and Ayampula, a citizen of Sāvatti.⁴ The Majjhima Nikāya mentions a coach-builder who belonged to the Ājīvika sect.⁵ According to the Dhammapada commentary Migāra, a banker of Sāvatti was a lay follower of the Ājīvikas.⁶

That the Ajīvika community consisted of recluses and householders, both male and female, is well borne out by the Buddhist version of Makkhali's doctrine of chaḷābhijātiyo—division of mankind into six *abhi jātis* or mental types. Gosāla is said to have placed the Ājīvika householders⁷ in the *Yellow class*, the Ājīvika mendicants and the Ājīvakinis in the *White class*, and the three Ajīvika leaders including himself in the *Supremely White class*.⁸

¹ Uvāsagadasāo (ed. Hoernle), Lecture VI.

² *Ibid.*, Sec. VII.

³ Leumann's Extracts from the Bhagavatī, XV. See Rockhill's Life of the Buddha, Appendix II, p. 252. Hoernle's translation of the Uvāsagadasāo, Appendix I, p. 4 ff.

⁴ Hoernle's Appendix, *ibid.*, p. 9.

⁵ Majjhima Nikāya, I, p. 31.

⁶ Dhammapada-Comy. on Verse 53.

⁷ Lit. "the householders who wear white clothes and are the adherents (sāvakā) of the unclothed one (acelaka)." Hoernle's Appendix II, *ibid.*, p. 22.

⁸ Aṅguttara Nikāya, part III, p. 384: "haliddābhijāti paññattā: gihi odātava-saṇā acelakasāvakā.....sukkābhijāti paññattā ājīvakā ājīvakiniyo.....paramā sukkābhijāti paññattā: Nando Vaccho, Kiso Saṅkicco, Makkhali Gosāla." Note that the doctrine is wrongly attributed to Pūraṇa Kassapa. Cf. Dīgha Nikāya I, p. 53; Sumaṅgala Vilāsini, I, p. 162, where the doctrine is attributed to Makkhali Gosāla.

In the Buddhist texts,¹ Makkhali Gosāla and other five heretical teachers, Pūraṇa Kassapa, Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta (Mahāvīra) and the rest, are spoken of in the same terms as “the head of an order, of a following, the teacher of a school, well known and of repute, as a sophist, revered by the people, a man of experience, who has long been a recluse, old and well-stricken in years.”² In the canonical Jātaka Book,³ the Heretics are compared in a body to a crow, stripped of its gain and fame after the appearance of the crested and sweet-voiced peacock, while the commentator, who identifies the crow of the Jātaka story with Nigaṇṭha Nāthaputta⁴ compares the Heretics with the fire-flies whose faint light faded before the rising glory of the sun, *i.e.*, the Buddha.⁵ Similarly, the Divyāvadāna contains a curious story of two magic-fights in each of which the Buddha overwhelmed the six Heretics by his superior *Riddhi*, once in Rājagṛiha and the second time in Śrāvastī.⁶ There are again canonical Discourses where the Samaṇa Gotama is described as a younger contemporary of the six Tittthakaras, both younger by birth and junior by renunciation.⁷ This receives confirmation from the Jaina tradition, recorded in the Bhagavati, that Gosāla predeceased Mahāvīra by 16 years,⁸ and from the Buddhist tradition, recorded in the Sāmagāma and

¹ Dīgha Nikāya, I, pp. 47-49: “Saṃghī c’eva gaṇī ca gaṇācariyo ca ñāto yasassi tittthakaro sādhu sammato bahu-janassa rattaññū cira-pabbajito addhagato vayo anuppatto.” Cf. Sutta Nipāta, III, No. 6, p. 91; Milindapañho, p. 4.

² Dialogues of the Buddha, II, p. 66.

³ See Bävern Jātaka in Fausböll’s Jātaka, No. 339, Vol. III, p. 128.

⁴ Fausböll’s Jātaka, Vol. III, p. 128: Tadaṃ kāko Nigaṇṭho Nāthaputto.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 126: Tittthiyā hi anuppanne Buddhhe lābhino ahesuṃ, uppanne pana hataḷbhaskkārā suriyūggamane khajjopanakā viya jātā.

⁶ Divyāvadāna, p. 143 foll. The Heretics are named Pūraṇaḥ Kāśyapo, Maskarī Gośālāiputraḥ, Saṃjayī Vairatṭiputraḥ, Ajitaḥ Keśakambalaḥ, Kakudaḥ Kātyāyano, Nirganthaḥ Jñātiputraḥ.

⁷ Sutta Nipāta, p. 91; Samaṇo hi Gotamo daharo c’eva jātiyā, navo ca pabbajjāya. Cf. Saṃyutta, I, 70.

⁸ See *ante*, p. 13.

such other Suttas, that Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta, *i.e.*, Mahāvīra, predeceased the Buddha by a few years,¹ the decease of the former at Pāvā having been followed by a schism dividing his disciples, the Nigaṇṭhas, into two rival parties.² The Milindapañho on the other hand, represents the six Heretics as if they were all contemporaries of King Milinda, identified by Dr. Rhys Davids with the Greco-Bactrian ruler Menander, who reigned, according to the Buddhist tradition, five centuries after the Buddha's Parinibbāna.³ But remembering that they are described in an older canonical discourse, *viz.*, the Sāmaññaphala Sutta, exactly in the same way as the contemporaries of Ajātasattu, King of Magadha, I have reason to suspect that the Milinda-story grew out of literary plagiarism involving an anachronism, which can by no means be either explained away or harmonized with the earlier and more authentic chronology furnished by the Jaina and Buddhist texts. The Milinda account of six Heretics must accordingly be rejected as spurious and false. The deep mystery which hangs like mist over the relation of Makḍḍali with Mahāvīra cannot fully be unravelled in this introduction, the express purpose of which is to present, on a traditional basis, an outline of the history of the Ājivikas. Suffice it to say, that the evidences derived from either the Jaina or the Buddhist sources of information, do not bear out the Jaina pious belief that Gosāla was one of the two false disciples of Mahāvīra, and tend rather to prove the contrary. I mean that if the historian be called upon to pronounce a definite opinion on this disputed question he cannot but say that

¹ Majjhima Nikāya, II, p. 143: Ekaṃ samayaṃ Bhagavā Sakkesu viharati Sāmagāme. Tena kho pana samayena Nigaṇṭho Nātaputto Pāvāyaṃ adhunā kālakato hoti. Tassa Kālakiriyyā bhinnā Nigaṇṭhā dvedhikajātā bhaṇḍanajātā kalahajātā vivādāpannā aññamaññaṃ mukhasattlhi vitudentā viharanti.

² Trenckner's Milinda, p. 4 foll.

³ Dīgha Nikāya, I, p. 47 foll.

indebtedness, if any, was more on the side of the teacher than on that of one who is branded by the Jaina as a false disciple. And the critic, before judging one way or the other, shall do well to consider the following points :—

1. That the priority of Gosāla regarding Jinahood before Mahāvīra can be established beyond doubt by the history of Maṅkhaliputta in the Bhagavati, confirmed in some important respects by the history of Mahāvīra in the Kalpa Sūtra.

It is expressly stated in the Kalpa Sūtra that out of the 72 years of Mahāvīra's life, he lived 30 years as householder, and spent 42 years as recluse, *viz.*, 12 as a learner (Sekha) and 30 as a Jina or Kevalin. Again out of the 12 years of his Sekhahood, he spent upwards of one year as a clothed mendicant, while in the second year he became a naked ascetic.¹ That is to say, he spent the first year as a member of the religious order of Pārśva-nātha, whose followers, called Nirgranthas, used to wear clothes, but in the second year he left that order and joined the Ājīvikas. "The latter year," as Dr. Hoernle specifies, "coincides with that in which Mahāvīra, according to the Bhagavati, met Gosāla and attracted him as his (apparently, first) disciple."² Of the remaining ten years, he spent six in association with Gosāla. If out of the 24 years of his ascetic life, Gosāla spent 8 years as a learner and 16 as a Jina, it follows that after their separation, Mahāvīra had to wait four years longer before his Jinahood, while Gosāla attained this exalted state within two years from the date of separation. Dr. Hoernle admits that this priority of Gosāla in regard to Jinahood, before Mahāvīra is a noteworthy point.³ But here I

¹ Jacobi's Kalpa-Sūtra, Sec. 117.

² Hoernle's translation of the Uvāsagadasāo, p. 110, f.n. 253.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 111, f.n. 253.

would ask, is it the right conclusion to be drawn from this, as Dr. Hoernle has done, that Gosāla was originally a disciple of Mahāvīra, a fact which, according to him, 'naturally enough explains the intense hostility towards him, of Mahāvīra, who resented the presumption of a disciple in taking precedence of his master?'¹ How can it be imagined that Mahāvīra received Gosāla as a disciple at a time when he himself was a mere learner? Are not a learner and a teacher in his case a contradiction in terms? And can we not reasonably understand that neither Gosāla nor Mahāvīra was technically a disciple or a teacher, but two intelligent members of the same religious order, two disciples of a common teacher, and two comrades under the guidance of an Ājīviya leader?

It is clear from the Bhagavatī story of the seven re-animations of Gosāla that Ajjuna was the Ājīviya leader before their separation, and that Gosāla succeeded him two years after his separation from Mahāvīra. The general history of Mahāvīra, so far as it can be gathered from the Jaina literature, goes to show that he attained Jinahood four years after his separation from Gosāla, when he founded a new Nirgrantha order with which the old order of Pārśvanātha was amalgamated afterwards, through the intercession of Keśi and Gautama into a common Jaina school of religio-philosophy.² The Bhagavatī account does not precisely state what sort of relation Gosāla had with the Ājīviyas before his separation from Mahāvīra, but it will certainly be going too far away from the historical truth to suppose that he had no connexion whatever with them until after he was separated from the latter. Apart from this, there are a few other facts which go to disprove the Jaina tradition. These are—

¹ Hoernle's translation of the *Uvāsagadasāo*, p. 111, f.n.

² *Uttarādhyayana*, Lec. XXIII.

2. That in the Jaina and Buddhist fragments on the Ājīvika views and religious observances there are preserved certain terms and phrases of Gosāla which are neither Ardha-Māgadhi nor Pāli, but represent at once some older vehicle of expression or literary medium, more closely allied, as will be shown later, to the Dialect, *i.e.*, earlier than the more literary forms of Māgadhi Prākritis, *i.e.*, the languages of the Nigaṇṭhas and Sakyaputtiya samaṇas.

3. That the Bhagavati account of Gosāla goes to prove that he was conversant with the Ājīviya literature consisting of eight Mahānimittas and two Maggas, the former of which probably formed, as Professor Leumann conjectures, part of the original Jaina canon, though no trace of them can be found in the existing one¹

4. That both the Jaina and Buddhist interpretation and criticism of Gosāla's views and practices indicate that they belonged to an earlier stage of religious evolution, older at least than the Jaina or the Buddhist system where the Ājīvika creed is sharply criticized and considerably modified and improved.

5. That the intense hostility of Mahāvīra towards Gosāla cannot reasonably be brought forward as a proof of the latter's discipleship and insincerity, since there is a strong evidence to prove that the Buddha, though neither a teacher nor a disciple of Gosāla, openly denounced him as the greatest enemy of mankind² and considered his to be the worst of all heresies, like unto a piece of hair-garment which is cold in cold weather and hot in the heat.³

¹ Rockhill's Life of the Buddha, Appendix II, p. 249, f. n. 1.

² Aṅguttara Nikāya, Part I, p. 33: Nāhaṃ bhikkhave aññaṃ ekapuggalam pi samanupassāmi yo evaṃ bahujaṇahitāya paṭipanno bahujaṇāsukhāya bahuno janassa anattāya ahitāya dukkhāya devamanussūnaṃ yathayidaṃ bhikkhave. Makkhali Moghapuriso. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 287.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 286: Seyyathāpi bhikkhave yāni kānici tantavutānaṃ vatthānaṃ kesakambalo tesaṃ paṭikittḥo akkhāyati. Kesakambalo bhikkhave sīte sīto uṇhe uṇho dubbhaṇṇo duggandho dukkhasamphasso, evaṃ eva kho bhikkhave yāni kānici puthu samaṇappavādānaṃ Makkhali-vādo tesaṃ paṭikittḥo akkhāyati.

6. And lastly, that the hostile attitude of Mahāvīra towards Gosāla ought, as in such other historical instances as those of Buddha and Mahāvīra, Aristotle and Plato, Rāmānuja and Śaṅkara, or of Kant and Hume, to be viewed as a positive proof of priority, the logical priority at least, of the latter whose views are sharply criticised by the former, leaving out of the question, in this particular instance, whether the thinker so criticised was a younger or an elder contemporary of the critic himself.

After a careful consideration of these points along with the main theses of Gosāla's philosophy, I am tempted to hold with Prof. Hermann Jacobi, that "the greatest influence on the development of Mahāvīra's doctrine, must.....be ascribed to Gosāla, the son of Makkhali," and that "we have no reason to doubt the statement of the Jaina, that Mahāvīra and Gosāla for some time practised austerities together; but the relation between them probably was different from what the Jainas would have us believe."¹ I am tempted, in other words, to believe that Gosāla represents, as a teacher at least, an earlier stage of thought-evolution and religious discipline, earlier at any rate than the period covered by the early history of Jainism and Buddhism as expounded by Mahāvīra and Gotama. Gosāla must be ranked among the five heretical teachers who together with Nigantha Nātaputta (Mahāvīra) are distinguished as six *titthiyas* from the Brāhman wanderers on the one hand, and from the Brāhman hermits and legislators on the other. They are distinguished as a class of recluses and sophists who differed from the Brāhman in character, intelligence, earnestness, purpose and method. An analysis of Gosāla's tenets goes to prove that he belonged as a thinker to the sophistic age when biological consideration and animistic belief were

¹ Jaina Sūtras, Pt. II, Introd., p. xxix.

predominant in the realm of religious thought and metaphysical speculation. The creative genius of the older Upaniṣad period, the period of the Āraṇyakas and the Brāhmaṇa Upaniṣads, was followed by a new spirit of free-thinking and sophism under the influence of which the intuitional philosophy of the Upaniṣad itself became sectarian at the hands of the Brāhmaṇa wanderers, a chaotic state of conflicting ideas and religious sentiments when philosophy failed to provide a correct and comprehensive view of the universe, and a sound and rational theory of life, acting as an unfailing guide to human conduct and affording a general standard for the determination of ethical values. In this respect the Dogmatists, the Sceptics and the Moralists are put by the Jainas and the Buddhists, with certain reservations, in the category of Akriyāvādins—the upholders of the doctrine of non-action. It also may be inferred from the Jaina or the Buddhist description of these three classes of thinkers that they all agreed in recognising in diverse ways that quietism was after all the *summum bonum* of spiritual life.

Now, in the absence of any records from Gosāla himself or from his followers, it is an extremely difficult task to endeavour with success to render a complete and faithful account of Gosāla's views and practices. A few isolated fragments have survived, no doubt, in the existing literatures of the Jainas, the Buddhists and the Brāhmaṇs, but these too are so much coloured by sectarian bias and so very contradictory in places that it is well nigh impossible to bring them all into a focus. Before any way can be made, evidences must be collected from all the possible sources of information, and the evidences thus collected must be sifted with the minutest care. Over and above this, a tremendous effort of imagination and genial intellectual sympathy are essential at

every step. So far as the sources of information are concerned, I may here remain content with mentioning the following :—

1. Jaina Sources—(a) *Sūyāgaḍaṅga* (I. 1.2.1-14; I. 1.4.7-9; II. 1.29; II. 6) with Śīlāṅka's *Tikā*.
- (b) *Bhagavatī Sūtra* (Saya XV, Uddesa I) with Abhayadeva's Commentary.
- (c) Leumann's *Das Aupapātika Sūtra* (Secs. 118 and 120).
2. Buddhist Sources—(a) *Sāmaññaphala Sutta* (*Dīgha* I, pp. 53-54) with Buddhaghosa's commentary.
- (b) *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, III, p. 69, ascribes the first portion of the *Sāmaññaphala* account of Gosāla's views, N'atthi hetu, n'atthi paccayo, etc., to Pūraṇa Kassapa.
- (c) *Anguttara Nikāya* (Pt. I, p. 286) with the *Manorathapūraṇi* confounds Makkhali Gosāla apparently with Ajita Kesa-kambala.
- (d) *Anguttara Nikāya* (Pt. III, pp. 383-84) with the *Manoratha-Pūraṇi* represents Kassapa as if he were a disciple of Makkhali Gosāla.
- (e) *Mahāsaccaka Sutta* (*Majjhima* I, p. 231), *cf.* also I, p. 36.
- (f) The Chinese and Tibetan versions of the *Sāmaññaphala Sutta*, translated in Rockhill's *Life of the Buddha*, where the doctrines of the six Heretics are hopelessly mixed up.
- (g) Trenckner's *Milinda-Paṇho*, p. 5.
- (h) *Mahābodhi-Jātaka* (No. 528), *cf.* Āryasūra's *Jātaka-Mālā*, XXIII.

Comparing these sources and noting their points of agreement and difference I may mention just a few characteristic features of Gosāla's philosophy :—

1. Gosāla was, to start with, the propounder of a 'doctrine of the change through re-animation' (*pautta-parihāravāda*),¹ or, better, of a theory of natural transformation (*pariṇāma-vāda*),² which he came to formulate from the generalisation of the periodical re-animations of plant life. This is the central idea of his system according to the Bhagavatī account.

2. The basic idea of this theory as explained and illustrated in the Bhagavatī and in the Sāmaññaphala Sutta implies a process of natural and spiritual evolution through ceaseless rounds of births and deaths,³ i.e., *saṃsāra-suddhi*, as the doctrine is aptly summarised in the Majjhima⁴ and in the Mahābodhi Jātaka.⁵

3. The *Pariṇāma-vāda* seeks to explain the diversity of the organic world by these three principles—

(a) Fate (*niyati*=*niyai*)⁶

(b) Species (*saṅgati*=*saṅgai*⁷=*pariyāya*)⁸

(c) Nature (*bhāva*=*sabhāva*)⁹

“*Niyati-saṅgati-bhāva-pariṇatā*.”¹⁰

¹ The term is so rendered by Prof. Leumann. See his translation of the extracts from the Bhagavatī, XV, in Rockhill's Life of the Buddha, Appendix II, p. 251.

² The term is implied in the adjective *pariṇata*, cf. the Dīgha I, p. 53.

³ Dīgha, I, p. 54: *sandhāvitvā saṃsaritvā dukhass' antaṃ karissanti*, cf. the Bhagavatī text quoted by Prof. Leumann (Rockhill's Life of the Buddha, App. II, p. 253, f. n. 3):—*anupvveṇaṃ khavattā pacchā sijjhanti bujjhanti jāva antaṃ karenti*.

⁴ Majjhima, I, p. 31.

⁵ Fansböll's Jātaka, V, p. 228.

⁶ The Prākṛit form of *niyati* occurs in the Sūyagaḍaṅga, I, 1.2.4.

⁷⁻⁸ The forms *saṅgai* and *pariyāya* are to be found in the Sūyagaḍaṅga, I, 1.2.3; I, 1.4.8.

⁹ According to Buddhaghosa's comment, *bhāvo*=*sabhāvo*, *Sumaṅgalavilāsini*, I, p. 161.

¹⁰ Dīgha, I, p. 53. Buddhaghosa explains *pariṇatā* as meaning diversified (*nānāpakāraṃ pattā*).

4. The organic world is characterised by six constant and opposed phenomena, *viz.*, gain and loss, pleasure and pain, life and death.

“Savvesim pāṇāṇim savvesim bhūyāṇim
Savvesim jīvāṇim savvesim sattāṇim
imāim saṇaikkamaṇiāim vāgaraṇāim
vāgarai—taṁ lābham, alābham, suham
dukham, jiveyam, maraṇam.”¹

5. The *Parināmavāda* involves a conception of the infinity of time with the recurrent cycles of existence, and the same theory conveys a great message of hope by inculcating that even a dew-drop is so destined as to attain in course of natural evolution to the highest state of perfection in humanity.

6. The longest period or duration fixed for the evolution of life from the meanest thing on earth to the greatest in man covers 84 hundred thousand Mahākālpas.²

7. This necessitates a division of time into Mahākālpas, Kālpas, Antarakālpas and so forth, during which the universe of life progresses onward along the fixed path of evolution.³

8. The theory of progression itself necessitates the classification of the living substances on different methods, and groups them on a graduated scale in different types of existence which are considered as unalterably fixed.

9. The *Parināmavāda* seeks to establish, even by its fatalistic creed, a moral government of law in the universe where nothing is dead, where nothing happens by chance, and where all that is and all that happens and is experienced are unalterably fixed as it were by a pre-determined law of nature.

¹ The passage is an extract from the Bhagavatī, Saya, XV, Uddesa I.

² Bhagavatī text quoted by Prof. Leumann. See Rockhill's Life of the Buddha, App. II, p. 253, f. n. 3; Dīgha, I, p. 54.

³ Rockhill's Life of the Buddha, App. II, pp. 253-54; Dīgha, I, p. 54.

10. It teaches that as man is pre-destined in certain ways and as he stands highest in the gradations of existence, his freedom, to be worth the name, must be one within the operation of law, and that the duty of man as the highest of beings is to conduct himself according to law, and so to act and behave himself as not to trespass on the rights of others, to make the fullest use of one's liberties, to be considerate and discreet, to be pure in life, to abstain from killing living beings, to be free from earthly possessions, to reduce the necessities of life to a minimum, and to strive for the best and highest, *i.e.*, Jinahood, which is within human powers.¹

11. The fatalistic creed which is a logical outcome of *Pariṇāmaravāda* confirms the popular Indian belief that action has its reward and retribution, and that heaven and hell are the inevitable consequences hereafter of merits and demerits of this life.

12. In accordance with the deterministic theory of Gosāla, man's life has to pass through eight developmental stages or periods (*aṭṭhapurisabhūmiyo*),² at each of which the physical growth proceeds side by side with the development of the senses and of mind with its moral and spiritual faculties³; and from this underlying theory of interaction of body and mind it follows that bodily discipline (*kāya-bhāvanā*)⁴ is no less needed for purification of soul than mental (*citta-bhāvanā*).

13. The division of mankind, or, better, of living beings, into six main types (*abhijātis*) involves a conception of mind which is colourless by nature and falls into different types—*nīlakāya*, *pītakāya*, etc.—by the colouring of the different habits and actions, and hence the supreme

¹ *Dīgha*, I, p. 54; *Aṅguttara*, III, pp. 383-84; *Majjhima*, I, p. 238; *Anupātika Sūtra*, Sec. 120.

² *Dīgha*, I, p. 54.

³ *Sumaṅgala-Vilāsinī*, I, pp. 162-163.

⁴ *Majjhima*, I, p. 238.

spiritual effort of man consists in restoring mind to its original purity, *i.e.*, rendering it colourless or supremely white by purging it of all impurities that have stained it.¹

By a glance at these features one can easily discern that Gosāla's philosophy was not entirely a new growth in the country, but one which bore a family likeness to the older and existing doctrines and theories in the midst of which it arose, with a new synthetic spirit seeking to weld together the higher metaphysics of the Upaniṣads and the civic and moral life of the Aryan people into one scheme of religious ethics. Considered in this light, a better understanding and fuller appreciation of the theoretic aspect of his philosophy and the practical side of his religion are impossible without a comparative study of the older theories and current beliefs which, as I expect to show in the following pages, constituted a natural environment for his own system. Accordingly, the history of Makkhali-period is to be conceived as a process of continued development of thought whereby the rigorous religious discipline and the simpler ethical doctrines of the pre-Makkhali teachers of the Ājīvikas were firmly established on a deeper scientific theory of evolution, side by side with and in the close environment of several conflicting theories and mutually contradictory dogmas, all interconnected in the organic development of Indian thought.

3. POST-MAKKHALI PERIOD.

Mankhaliputta Gosāla died, according to the Jaina evidence, at Hālāhalā's potter-shop in Sāvātthi, in the twenty-fourth year of his ascetic life (leaving behind him a glorious record of his career as a leader of the Ājīviyas and a teacher of philosophy). He had a severe attack of

¹ Digha, I, 53; Aṅguttara, III, pp. 383-84; Sumaṅgala-Vilāsinī, I, p. 162; Majjhima, I, p. 36.

typhoid fever of which he died, and died, as may be inferred from a prediction of Mahāvīra's, in seven days ; and he predeceased, as it is implied in another prediction of Mahāvīra, the latter by sixteen years. His death (better Nirvāṇa) was coincident with an important political event, viz., the war between Kūṇiya (Ajātasattu), formerly the Viceroy of Aṅga and then the King of Magadha after the usurpation of his father's throne, and Ceḍaga (Sk. Cetaḥ), the King (better, a powerful citizen) ¹ of Vesālī. Some important details are preserved in the Bhagavatī of the suffering and intense pain that attended Gosāla's fever. The Jaina historian is fond of looking upon his fever with its attendant ailments as the dire consequence of a magic duel which he had so foolishly fought with Mahāvīra, his former teacher and then his superior rival. These details are important, as I presently expect to show, as having a far-reaching effect on the course of Ājivika religion. The Bhagavatī account ² mentions, among others, the following facts :—

(a) Visit of a company of six Disācaras or Vagabonds (better, Wanderers) to Sāvattthi—Sāṇa, Kalanda, Kaṇiyāra, Attheda, Aggivesāyana and Ajjana Gomāyuputta, with whom Gosāla discussed their respective theories in the twenty-fourth year of his asceticism.

(b) Acceptance of Gosāla's theory of re-animation by the Disācaras and their conversion to the Ājivīya faith.

(c) Extracts made by the Disācaras, according to their own ideas, from the ten canonical books, viz., the eight *Mahānimittas* contained in the Puvvas and the two *Maggas*.

(d) Deduction of six principles, gain and loss, pleasure and pain, life and death, from the teaching of the *Mahānimittas*.

¹ Jaina-Sūtras, Part I, Introd., p. xii.

² Hoernle's Appendix I, pp. 4-11.

(e) Visit of Mahāvīra to Sāvattthi, accompanied by his chief disciple Indabhūi and by Āpaṇḍa, Savvāpubhūi and Sunakkhatta among his other disciples.

(f) Gosāla's conversation with Āpaṇḍa whom he tried to convince by a story of some merchants and a fierce serpent in an ant-hill, that he possessed magic powers of destruction which the latter must beware of.

(g) His interview with Mahāvīra near Kotṭhaga-ceiya and concealment of his former relations with the latter by means of his theory of re-animation.

(h) Mahāvīra's denunciation of Gosāla who acted like a thief in pretending himself to be a Jina.

(i) Destruction by Gosāla's magic power of two disciples of Mahāvīra,—Savvāpubhūi and Sunakkhatta who censured Gosāla for his improper behaviour towards his former teacher.

(j) Magic duel fought between Gosāla and Mahāvīra, which resulted in the defeat and discomfiture of the former.

(k) Advantage taken by the Niggaṇṭha ascetics under Mahāvīra's instruction of this mental state of Gosāla, and conversion of many Ājīviyas to the Jaina faith.

(l) Gosāla's shameless words and actions in the delirium of fever, *e.g.*, holding a mango in his hand, drinking, singing, dancing, improperly soliciting the potter-woman Hālāhalā, and sprinkling himself with the cool muddy water from a potter's vessel.

(m) Question of Ayaṇpula, an Ājīviya layman, as to the nature of the *Hallā* insect, and Gosāla's foolish reply (made after the attendant theras had taken away the mango which he was holding in his hand): "This which you see is not a mango, but merely the skin of a mango; you want to know what the *Hallā* insect is like; it is like the root of the bamboo, play the lute, brother, play the lute!"

(n) Development of a few new doctrines of the Ājīviyas from Gosāla's personal acts and from events at or about the time of his death, *viz.*,

(i) the doctrine of Eight Finalities (*aṭṭha caramāṇin*); the last drink, the last song, the last dance, the last solicitation, the last tornado, the last sprinkling elephant,¹ the last fight with big stones as missiles, and the last Tittthaṅkara who is Maṅkhaliputta himself²;

(ii) the doctrine of Four Drinkables and Four substitutes (*cattāri pāṇagāṇin*; *cattāri apāṇagāṇin*)³: the former include what is excreted by the cow, what has been soiled by the hand (*e.g.*, the water in a potter's vessel), what is heated by the sun, and what drops from a rock; and the latter include—

- (1) Holding a dish or a bottle or a pot or a jar which is cool or wet with water, instead of drinking from it;
- (2) squeezing or pressing with one's mouth a mango or a hog-plum or a jujube fruit or a *tinduka* fruit when it is tender or uncooked, instead of drinking of its juice;
- (3) squeezing or pressing with one's mouth *kalāya* or *mudga* or *māsa* or *simbali* beans when these are tender or uncooked, instead of drinking of their juice; and
- (4) 'the—pure—drink' consisting in eating pure food for six months, lying successively, for two

¹ *Seyanaga* = Sk. *Secanaka*, the Sprinkler. In the *Nirayāvaliyā Sutta* (Warren's ed. 17) it is related that this elephant used to carry the royal ladies of Campā to their bath and sport in the Ganges. See Hoernle's Appendix I, p. 7, f. n.

² Hoernle rightly points out that the first four items refer to the last personal acts of Gosāla, and that of the remaining four items the first three refer to events which happened at or about the time of Gosāla's death. Appendix I, p. 7, f. n.

³ The commentary explains *pāṇagāṇin* by "*jalaviśeṣā vratayogyāḥ*, *i.e.*, kinds of water that are fit to be drunk by the ascetics; and *apāṇagāṇin* by "*pāṇaka-sadrīṣāni śītalatvena dāhōpaśama-hetava*," *i.e.*, objects that resemble water, because, on account their coolness, they serve to assuage internal heat. Appendix I, p. 8, f. n.

months at a time, on the bare earth, on wooden planks and on darbha grass.

(o) Gosāla's prophecy that Mahāvīra, struck by his magic power, would die of typhoid fever in six months, and Mahāvīra's counter prophecies that the former having been hit by his magic power, would die of the same fever in seven days, while he himself, although attacked with the same malady would live for sixteen years longer the life of a Jina.

(p) Gosāla's repentance and confession of shame, and declaration that Mahāvīra was the true Jina while he himself was Gosāla, the son of Maṅkhali, a wicked man, whose body deserved to be dragged, after his death, by a rope for people to spit at, and buried with every mark of dishonour.¹

(q) His death in the premises of Hālāhalā's potter-shop and a public burial of his body with all honours, according to his original instructions.

(r) Synchronism of his death with the war between Kūṇiya and Cedaḡa.

(s) His rebirth as a Deva in the *Accue* world (*Accue Kappe*), being the reward, as some of the Jainas believe, of his repentance and self-confession, followed by a long series of rebirths and redeaths, the first of which is represented by King Mahāpauma of Puṇḍa, at the foot of the Viñjā mountains.

(t) Persecution of the Niggaṇṭha Samanas by King Mahāpauma at the instigation of the Ājīviyas whose royal patron he was, and destruction of the wicked king by the magic potency of the Jaina saint named Sumaṅgala.

(u) Blind worship of Maṅkhaliputta Gosāla whom his Ājīviya followers honoured as the last Tithaṅkara.

¹ Heart of Jainism, p. 60, f. p.

Those who are inclined to accept the Bhagavati account of Gosāla's last days as true in the literal sense, may find their views beautifully expressed in Mrs. Stevenson's "Heart of Jainism" (p. 60), where she makes the following observation: "Now he (*i.e.*, Gosāla) brought forward another doctrine, that of re-animation, by which he explained to Mahāvīra that the old Gosāla who had been a disciple of his was dead, and that he who now animated the body of Gosāla was quite another person; this theory, however, deceived nobody and Gosāla, discredited in the eyes of the townspeople, fell lower and lower, and at last died as a fool dieth."

I have been at pains to place before the reader almost all the main facts to be gathered from the Bhagavati account of Gosāla's last days, and that with the single object of enabling him to judge for himself how brittle and insufficient are the materials with which a systematic history of the post-Makkhali period of the Ājīviya religion is to be built. And any intelligent student of history, I am confident, can easily perceive that many real facts about the Ājīviyas lie buried under the debris of myth and sectarian misrepresentation. He may miss all other points, but not one, which, I believe, is the Jaina motive to make Gosāla who is the greatest Ājīviya teacher to appear as a mischievous mad man to posterity, to whom he bequeathed the richest treasures of his wisdom and erudition, and, above all, an invigorating message of hope through his theory of re-animation. I leave it to the future historian of the Ājīviyas to decide how far he had merited such inhospitable and impolite treatment in the hands of the Jaina author of the Bhagavati Sūtra. But I cannot help making one or two observations in passing.

First, it does not surely speak well either of the Jaina author or of the Jaina order whose glory and powers the

former is so anxious to bring out in his account, that he has recorded without any apology the conduct of the Niggaṇṭha Samaṇas who had taken advantage of and doubly increased the mental worries and discomfiture of Gosāla by going to discuss with him some serious problems of Jaina religion and theology, and that at the opportune suggestion from Mahāvīra himself. However, in spite of his deliberate attempt to make the best use of Gosāla's words and actions in the delirium of fever, without a word of sympathy for the agony under which he suffered, he has not been able to conceal a few outstanding facts of the latter's life. He has mentioned, for instance, that the question which Ayaṃpula, an Ājīviya layman, put to his dying master was about the nature of the *Hallā* insect, just in the same way that he has related that the two ascetics, Mahāvīra and Gosāla, had separated in Siddhatthagāma on account of a doctrinal difference which arose between them in connexion with the latter's theory of re-animation. These two points, marking out as they do the beginning and close of his philosophic career, go only to indicate that he was a naturalist, one whose life was spent in the study of plants and all other forms of life, and in finding out scientific explanations for their peculiar characteristics, habits, experiences and destinies.

Secondly, I do not clearly see as to what spiritual advantage the Jaina author has sought to gain by describing Gosāla's fever as the dire consequence of a magic duel he had so foolishly fought with Mahāvīra, though not unaware of the fact that a Jaina himself was inclined to attribute the typhoid fever from which Mahāvīra himself suffered shortly afterwards to a similar cause.¹

¹ Hoernle's Appendix, I, p. 10: "Soon after his arrival at the Sālakoṭṭhaga Ceiya near the town of Midhiyagāma, Mahāvīra got a severe attack of bilious fever,

I cannot, indeed, suggest any other plausible explanation for some of the later accounts, whether Jaina or Buddhist, which seek to claim the superiority of Mahāvīra or of the Buddha, as a teacher, by his superior and overwhelming magical powers of destruction, than that in the absence of the master, the spirit of his teaching was entirely lost sight of by those of his followers who courted only popularity of their faith among superstitious people at large.

It seems true that the visit of Mahāvīra to Sāvattthi with his disciples who resembled in many respects the Ājīviyas but who were more exalted withal in social position and more refined in manners, and whose doctrines were more rational and articulate than, although similar in many points to, the Ājīviya, proved fatal to the reputation of the Ājīviya leader and checked further progress of the Ājīviya creed in the ancient city of Sāvattthi which is so famous also in the history of Buddhism. It may be a fact that some of the Ājīviyas were won over to the new faith of the Jainas which was rapidly spreading its net over the Mid-Land like a spider at the cost of the mother creed. But was the victory only one-sided, I would ask, or did Mahāvīra gain some only to lose others, despite the fact that he gained far more than lost? What does the Jaina author mean when he relates that Mahāvīra's disciples, Savvānubhūi and Sunakkhatta, were killed by Gosāla's magical powers of destruction? I am of opinion that both Savvānubhūi and Sunakkhatta were converted to the Ajīvika faith. As to Sunakkhatta in particular there are two versions of an important Buddhist discourse, characterised as "horror-striking" (*lomahaṃsa*),¹ in both

and all the people of the town thought that Gosāla's prophecy was going to be fulfilled This greatly troubled the mind of one of Mahāvīra's disciples, called Sīha."

¹ The discourse is embodied in the Mahāsīhanāda Sutta, Majjhima, I, pp. 68-83, and in the Lomahaṃsa-Jātaka (No. 94).

of which he is introduced as a Licchavi prince who severed his connexion with the Buddhist order, and in both the versions the Buddha sets up an enquiry into the tenets of Ājīvika religion, which is a circumstantial evidence proving that Sunakkhatta had something to do and was in some way connected with the Ājīvikas at some later period of his life. All the stories about him, whether older or later, emphasize certain facts about his religious views and outlook which manifestly show that he was just the sort of man who attached greater spiritual value to outward asceticism than to the moral behaviour of a recluse, and whose standard of judgment of a teacher's greatness consisted in mystical faculties and magic rather than in self-culture and rationality. He had joined the Buddhist Order apparently in the hope of finding in the great Buddha and his religion of the Middle Path all that he wanted to get, and when disappointed, he left it to join with a Korakhattiya in repudiating the Buddha in public as a theorist without higher intellectual perception and superhuman faculties.¹ According to Garuḍa Gosvāmin's Amāvatura, he next attached himself to a Jaina recluse named Kaḷāramatthuka, and again returned to the Buddha only to go back again to a self-conceited Jaina named Pātika-putta. It was while the Buddha was staying in the Pātikārāma, near Vesālī, that he gave his famous 'horror-striking' discourse by dwelling on the religious views of Sunakkhatta which were consonant with the Ājīvika

¹ "N'atthi Samaṇassa Gotamassa uttarimanussandhammo alamariyaññapadassana-viseso, takkapariyāhataṃ samaṇo Gotamo dhammaṃ deseti." The Lomaḥaṃsa Jātaka relates that Sunakkhatta reverted to a lay life through the influence of Kora the Kṣatriya about the time when this latter had been reborn as the offspring of Kālakañjaka Asura. The Mahāsihanāda Sutta does not mention Kora Khattiya. The story of Sunakkhatta in the Singhalese Amāvatura seems to have been based upon the Pātika-Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya, Vol. III. The older version of the story is to be discussed in Part II, Chap. I.

faith and discipline. The Mahāsihanāda Sutta, which lays the scene in a forest-grove, in the western suburb of Vesālī, embodies a more detailed analysis and elaborate discussion of the principles and practices of the Ājīvikas, and this older account in the Majjhima confirms, as will be shown anon, the Jaina account in the Bhagavati in many important phases of Ājīvikism as it developed after the Nirvāṇa of Gosāla. Thus with the aid of contemporary and subsequent accounts from the Buddhists I can suggest that the true meaning of the Jaina statement about the destruction of Suṇakkhatta¹ by Gosāla's magical powers is that he passed many a time from one order to another, and that the last order which he joined and the last faith in which he died was the Ājīviya.

Next as to Mahāvīra's prophecy that Gosāla having been hit by his magic power must die of bilious (typhoid) fever in seven days, I doubt if it can be viewed as sober history. This prophecy of his is in conflict with his statement that eight new practices of the Ājīviyas emerged from Gosāla's personal acts. Considering that the first seven practices—drinking what is excreted by the cow, what has been soiled by the hand, etc., are traceable in his acts in the delirium of fever, a presumption is apt to arise that the eighth practice, called the Pure Drink, also arose from his personal example, and as we know, to practise this hard penance of suicidal starvation, the Ājīviyas had to lie down for six months, lying successively for two months at a time on the bare earth, on wooden planks and on *darbha* grass. If the Ājīviyas observed this practice in blind imitation of their master, as I believe they did, Mahāvīra's prophecy can be reconciled with his statement about Gosāla's

¹ The story of Suṇakkhatta in the Dhammapada commentary and the Amāvāṭura goes on to relate that his dead body was dragged by a rope to the charnel field (*śmaka-susāna*).

death only by the supposition that he did not actually die in seven days, but survived the attack of fever for a period of six months, during which he practised the penance of Pure Drink in the manner above described, and attained after his death to the immutable world (Accue Kappe).

The new Ājīviya doctrine of eight finalities preserves the memory of a war between Kūṇiya and Ceḍaga, and these reminiscences, combined with Mahāvīra's second prophecy that Gosāla would predecease him by sixteen years, can serve to furnish a clue to the date of Gosāla's death, being synchronous with some natural and political events such as tornado and war, which left its influence on Ājīviya religion. An account of this war is embodied in the Nirayāvaliyā sutta¹, but it would be an unpardonable digression here to discuss the complicated question of date. It can nevertheless be imagined that the strange coincidence of Gosāla's death with tornado and war made such a deep impression on the Ājīviyas as to lead them to associate these events in their memory, to look upon them as the work of some mysterious spiritual agencies and turn their coincidence into a doctrine: the last drink, the last song, the last dance, the last solicitation, the last tornado, the last sprinkling elephant, the last fight with big stones as missiles, and the last titthaṅkara who is Maṅkhaliputta himself.²

According to the Bhagavatī account Sāvattī was the main centre of the Ājīviya activity during the leadership of Gosāla and subsequently, and this is confirmed by a few passages of the Vinaya Piṭaka pointing to Sāvattī as the place where a naked ascetic was invariably

¹ Warren's edition, p. 17, foll.

² Bhagavatī, XV. I. 1254: carime pāṇe, carime cāre, carime ṇaṭṭe, carime añjalikaṇṇe, carime pokkhalassa saṇvaṭṭae mahāmehe, carime seyaṇae gaṇḍhabhatthi, carime mahāsīlakaṇṇae...carime titthaṅkare.

sidered to be an Ājīvika. Professor D. R. Bhandarkar draws attention¹ to an interesting episode in the Mahāvagga recording two instances, where a maid in the service of lady Visākhā mistook the Buddhist bhikkhus for the Ājīvikas when she saw them “with their robes thrown off, letting themselves be rained down upon”² and the second time, when the bhikkhus entered, into their respective chambers, taking off their robes after cooling their limbs and being refreshed in body.” The Ājīviya lay-disciples mentioned in the Uvāsagadasāo, the Bhagavati sūtra and in the Dhammapada commentary were all either citizens of Sāvattthi or residents of some outlying districts and suburbs of Sāvattthi, and they are classed as rich potters and bankers as will appear from the following list :—

- (1) Kuṇḍakoliya, resident of Sahassambavana near Kampillapura in the dominion of King Jiya-sattū, *alias* Pasenādi Kosala. He married lady Pusā and is said to have possessed “a treasure of six kroṇ measures of gold deposited in a safe place, a capital of six kroṇ measures of gold, put out on interest, a well-stocked estate of the value of six kroṇ measures of gold and six herds, each herd consisting of ten thousand heads of cattle.”³ He had a seal inscribed with his name (nāma-muddā) and is addressed as the lay-disciple of the Samana and beloved of the gods.⁴ Subsequently he is said to have become a Jaina.
- (2) Saddālaputta, a rich potter of Polāsapura, a town near Sahassambavana in the dominion of

¹ Ind. Ant., 1912, Vol. XLI, p. 288.

² Mahāvagga, VIII, 15.3. Vinaya Texts, S. B. E., Part II, p. 217.

³ Mahāvagga, VIII, 15.4. Vinaya Texts, op. cit, p. 218.

⁴ Hoernle's edition and translation of the Uvāsaga Dasāo, VI, 163.

⁵ *Ibid*, VI, 166 : “Haṃ bho Kuṇḍakoliya samaṇōvāsaya...devāṇuppiyā.”

King Jiyasattū. He married Aggimittā and vied with Kuṇḍakoliya in opulence.¹ He ran 500 potteries where a large number of employees received food in lieu of wages, day by day, prepared a large number of bowls, pots, pans, pitchers and jars of six different sizes,² and used to carry on a trade on the king's high-road with that large number of bowls and jars of various sizes.³ He, too, is said to have become a Jaina later on.

- (3) Hālāhalā, a potter-woman in whose premises in Sāvatti Maṅkhaliputta found shelter and lived and died.
- (4) Ayampula, a citizen of Sāvatti.
- (5) Migāra,⁴ a banker of Sāvatti, who possessed 40 Kroṣ measures of gold (cattālisakotiyo mahāsetthi). His son Puṇṇavaḍḍhana married the Buddhist lady Visākhā, daughter of Dhanañjaya, a banker of Magadha, naturalised subsequently in Kosala. The banker Migāra got rid of his Ājīvika creed and embraced the Buddhist faith through the instrumentality of his daughter-in-law. Hence the standing epithet *Migāramātā*, the mother of Migāra, applied to the name of Visākhā.

There are a few Buddhist discourses which bear out the fact that the Ājīvika propaganda work was not confined to Kosala, but ranged over a wider area extending as far west as Avanti, and as far east as the frontier district of Bengal (Vaṅgantajanapada). For instance, in a passage of the Majjhima Nikāya, a Brahman wanderer tells the Buddha that Aṅga and Magadha were seething with

¹ *Ibid.*, VII. 182.

^{2,3} *Uvāsaga* Dasāo, VII. 183.

⁴ *Dhammapada Commentary*, p. 384, foll.

speculative ferment stirred up by the six *titthaṅkaras* of whom Makkhali Gosāla was one¹; and in another passage Sāriputta informs Moggallāna that he met an Ājīvika named Paṇḍuputta, the son of a coach-repairer, near Rājagaha.² The story of Upaka, of which there are several versions in the Buddhist literature,³ relates that the Buddha had met the Ājīvika *en route* to Benares from Gayā, shortly after his enlightenment. According to a later version of the same story in the Suttanipāta-commentary, Upaka having parted company with the Buddha proceeded as far east as the frontier district of Bengal where he was entertained by a fowler with meat broth. He fell in love with Cāpā, the fowler's daughter, and when their love affair was disclosed she was given him in marriage. He became sick of household life after Cāpā had given birth to a son and went back to the Buddha whom he came to look upon as *ananta-jina*, the peerless Master. The District where he had so long lived as householder was situated outside the Middle Country, as may be inferred from the expression that "he proceeded towards the Majjhimadesa."⁴ Thus, the Buddhist evidences can be brought to bear upon the Bhagavatī account which speaks of Rāyagiha, Uddandapura, Campā, Vāṇārasi, Ālabhiyā, Vesāli and Sāvattī as the several successive centres of the Ājīviya activity.

A number of Gosāla's disciples survived him and amongst them may be included the Disācaras, and Sunakkhatta and others. The Disācaras formed a group of six wandering mendicants before their conversion to the Ājīviya religion, and they are named Sāṇa, Kalanda,

¹ Majjhima-Nikāya, II, p. 2.

² *Ibid.*, I, pp. 31-32.

³ *Ibid.*, I, p. 170, foll.; Therīgāthā; Paramattha-jotikā, II, Vol. 7, pp. 258-260.

⁴ Paramatthajotikā, II, Vol. I, p. 260: Majjhima desābbhimukho pakkami. The boundaries of the Middle Country are discussed by Prof. Bhandarkar with his characteristic thoroughness in his Carmichael Lectures, Lec. II, p. 42, foll.

Kaṇiyāra, Attheda, Aggivesāyaṇa, and Ajjāṇa Gomāyuputta.¹ Of them the last, *i.e.*, Ajjāṇa Gomāyuputta seems to have been the same person as the Ājīvika whom the Buddhist Thera Sāriputta met outside Rājagaha, and who is named Paṇḍuputta purāṇayānakāraputta in the Majjhima (I. p. 31)—Paṇḍu's son, *i.e.*, Ajjuna, the son of a repairer of old carts. The Disācaras met Gosāla in the 24th year of his mendicancy. The Bhagavatī account keeps us in the dark as to who they were before their interview with Gosāla. It represents them as if they had belonged to a separate school of thought and religious order, the past traditions (*pūvvas*) whereof they collected and arranged into a canon consisting of eight Mahānimittas and two Maggas, which ultimately became the sacred literature of the Ājīviyas.² The account goes so far as to indicate that this literature sprang out of the extracts made by the Disācaras according to their own ideas from the *Pūvvas*, and that Gosāla derived the six characteristic features of the organic world therefrom.

It seems *primā facie* impossible that the six wanderers should have paid a visit to Gosāla with a literature of their own and that this literature should have been accepted by Gosāla and his disciples as canonical. The better interpretation would seem to be that the disciples of Gosāla who survived him assembled to collect and systematise the teachings of their master and the traditions of their order after Gosāla's death, and probably they formed a council of six for the purpose, a procedure followed later in principle by the Jainas and Buddhists after the death of their masters.

The Bhagavatī Sūtra does not explain what its author understood by the *Pūvvas* wherein the eight

¹ Some texts read the names as Sāṇa, Kaṇaṇḍa, Kaṇiyāra, Acchida, Aggivesāyaṇa and Ajjuna Gomāyuputta.

² Rockhill's Life of the Buddha, Appendix II, p. 249.

Mahānimittas were contained, nor does it state what his idea was of the contents of the Ājīviya canon. The commentator says that the Maggas consisted of two treatises on music: gitamārga-nṛityamārga-lakṣaṇam, which is hardly correct.

It appears from the Bhadrabāhu inscription at Śravaṇa Belgolā¹ that the eight Mahānimittas formed part of the original Jaina canon, although no trace of them, as noticed by Prof. Leumann, can be found in the existing one.²

There seems to be much truth in Leumann's surmise; at any rate, the traditional connexion of the Mahānimittas and Maggas with the Puvvas can be rendered clear by the history of the Jaina canon. According to the Jaina tradition, whether Śvetāmbara or Digāmbara, "besides the Aṅgas, there existed other and probably older works, called Puvvas, of which there were originally fourteen."³ The Śvetāmbara tradition says that the fourteen *Pūrvas* were incorporated in the twelfth Aṅga, the *Dṛṣṭivāda*, which was lost in the 10th century after Mahāvira's death. This tradition is in conflict with the Jaina interpretation of the word Puvva, according to which Mahāvira himself taught the Puvvas to his disciples called the Gaṇadharas and the latter composed afterwards the Aṅgas. That there is some truth in this traditional interpretation none can deny.⁴ The substance of Prof. Jacobi's views on this point is that the fourteen Puvvas or oldest sacred books of the Jainas were superseded by a new canon, for the very name Puvva means "former," i.e., the earlier composition. The most natural interpretation of the tradition that the Aṅgas and the Puvvas existed side by

¹ Bhadrā Bāhu and Śravaṇa Belgolā by Lewis Rice, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. III, p. 153. *Aṣṭāṅgamahānimittaiḥ* = aṣṭaṅgantha Mahānimittaiḥ of the Bhagavati Sūtra.

² Rookhill's *Life of the Buddha*, Appendix II, p. 249, f. n. 1.

³ Jacobi's *Jaina-sūtras*, Part I, *Introd.*, p. xlv.

⁴ Weber, *Indische Studien*, xvi, p. 353.

side up till the council of Pāṭaliputra, which was held in the 4th century B.C., is that the first eleven Āṅgas did not derive their authority from the Pūrvvas, and were in a sense later innovations.

As to the tradition that the 14 *Pūrvvas* were incorporated in the Twelfth Āṅga, the *Dṛiṣṭivāda*, Prof. Jacobi justifies it by the contents of the Āṅga itself. The *Dṛiṣṭivāda*, as its name implies, dealt chiefly with the *dṛiṣṭis* or philosophical views of the Jainas and other schools. "It may be thence inferred that the *pūrvvas* related controversies held between Mahāvīra and rival teachers. The title *pravāda* which is added to the name of each *pūrvva*, seems to affirm this view." The Jaina scholars headed by Jacobi, Weber and others tend to hold that the *pūrvvas* represented the older Jaina doctrines in their traditional form which were later abridged, systematized and partly superseded by the Āṅgas.¹

The same process of abridgement, systematisation, and partial supplementation seems to have taken place in the growth of the Ājivika canon. The eight Mahānimittas did not surely exhaust the *pūrvvas* when it is expressly stated that they were only contained in them, and consisted of extracts made thereof by the Disācaras according to their own ideas. Some idea of the contents of the Mahānimittas can be formed from the Bhadrabāhu inscription referred to above and quoted below :—

"Bhadrabāhu-svāminā Ujjayinyām aṣṭāṅga-mahānimitta-tatvajñena traikālya-darśinā nimittena dvādaśa samvatasara-kāla vaiṣamyam upalabhya."

The extract may be rendered as follows :—

"By Bhadrabāhu-svāmin, who possesses the knowledge of the Eight Mahānimittas, the seer of the past, present and future, was foretold by the study of signs a dire

¹ Hoernle's Introduction to his translation of the Uvāsaga Daśāo, p. x. See other references mentioned by him in a footnote.

calamity in Ujjayini, lasting for a period of twelve years. It is clear from this that the Eight Mahānimittas consisted chiefly of astrological and astronomical works. It is doubtful if the Maggas were treatises on music, as the Jaina commentator suggests. These dealt perhaps with the rules of the Ājīviya community. It is no wonder that these were later additions to the Ājīvika canon, although it is difficult to say when exactly these additions were made. The *puvvas* from which the abstracts on astrological and astronomical matters were derived contained perhaps, like the *Puvvas* of the Jainas, the philosophical views and controversies besides the rules of the Ājīviya order. The separation of the Mahānimittas from the general body of Ājīviya tradition was coeval probably with a change which came about in the life of the Ājīviyas after their master's death. The change is nothing else, as will be pointed out hereafter, than that the Ājīviyas departing from the line of strict religious discipline and purpose of their Masters inclined more and more to make astrology and divination their profession.

The literary traditions of the Ājīviyas, like those of many other schools of thought, have been lost perhaps for ever, and no one knows where to seek for them or what fruitful results they will yield when discovered. At the present state of our knowledge, I can only say that the Ājīviyas, like the Jainas and the Buddhists, had a literature of their own, and it is painful to think that it should have been irrevocably lost. From the evidence of the Bhadrabāhu inscription of Śravaṇa Belgolā the historian is tempted to believe that it is not lost absolutely, but that it has survived in some form or other in the existing literature of the Jainas, the Buddhists and the Brāhmins, and chiefly in that of the Jainas.

A few stereotyped fragments that have survived in the Jaina and Buddhist literatures seem to preserve

certain turns of expressions which, meagre though they are, bear evidence to the fact that the Ājīvikas had developed a literary medium or vehicle of expression and scientific nomenclature of their own, closely allied to the Dialect on one side, and to Ardhamāgadhi on the other, distant from Pāli and still more distant from Sanskrit. It is difficult, as in the case of Ardhamāgadhi and Pāli, to point out any local dialect on which the Ājīvika language was based. Considering that Sāvattthi was the main centre of their religious propaganda during the leadership of Gosāla and subsequently, one may be tempted to hold that it was derived mainly from the dialect of Kosala, while its scientific nomenclature was partly coined and partly derived from the Brahmanical literature then extant. But the objection will arise that if their language was of a local origin, how could it be spoken and well understood over the whole of the Middle Country, or why should it be different, however slightly, from Ardhamāgadhi and Pāli, although Sāvattthi was as much the centre of the Ājīvikas as that of the Jainas and Buddhists? I am far from saying that their language was entirely free from all local influences, but I must say that in the study of the growth of literary languages in the sixth century B.C., no less than in that of the rise of different political powers and religious orders, the historian and the philologist will do well to bear in mind that the tribal, caste and communal factors were far more potent and operative than local. To take an illustration: supposing that the languages of the Ājīvika canon and Buddhist Piṭaka had developed side by side in Kosala, where the local influences were theoretically the same, the differences between them in matters of phonetics, syntax and affinity with Sanskrit can be best accounted for not so much by a grand theory of provincial peculiarities

as by that of tribal, caste and communal differentiations, conscious or unconscious. The communal differentiation is conscious, while the tribal and caste differentiations are generally unconscious, and conscious only where a member of a tribe or caste makes himself conspicuous to his fellows by his imitation of the diction and accent of some other tribe or caste. The tribal or race influence is partly local in so far as a place is inhabited by a tribe or a race. Proceeding on these lines, the greater refinement of Pāli and its closer affinity with Sanskrit can be explained by the fact that it had originated with a highly cultured member of an aristocratic clan, and was adapted to the languages of the nobility and learned Brāhmans, while the Ājīvika language having originated with a person of lower social position, and having been adapted to the dialects of the Vaiśyas, *e.g.*, the bankers, the potters and the coach-builders, naturally lacked grammatical precision, the purity of diction, and refinement in tone. This is confirmed by the fact that wherever in the Nikāyas we come across homely dialogues and folk-tales, similes and maxims, it is found that the language differs invariably from the standard Pāli of the Buddhist Theras and Theris, and approximates more or less to the Dialect, *i.e.*, to the language of the Middle Country with its local, tribal and caste variations. A fuller discussion of this intricate linguistic problem is reserved for Part II. Here I must remain content with citing a few instances in order to illustrate the nature of the Ājīvika language under notice.

1. (a) The doctrine of Gosāla is reproduced in Ardhamāgadhī :

“Gosālassa Maṅkhaliputtassa dhammapaṇ-
natti: n’atthi utthāṇe i vā kamme i vā bale i
vā virie i vā purisaparakkame i vā— niyayā
sabbabhāvā ” (Uvāsaga Dasāo, VI, 166).

(b) The same is reproduced in Pāli :

“ N’atthi attakāre n’atthi parakāre n’atthi purisakāre, n’atthi balam n’atthi vīriyam n’atthi purisa-thāmo n’atthi purisaparakkamo. Sabbe sattā sabbe pāṇā sabbe bhūtā sabbe jīvā avasā abalā avīriyā niyati-saṅgati-bhāva-pariṇatā ”
(Dīgha., I, p. 63).

(c) The same abridged and more adapted to Pāli reads :

“ N’atthi balam n’atthi vīriyam n’atthi purisatthāmo n’atthi purisaparakkamo, sabbe sattā.....abalā avīriyā niyati-saṅgati-bhāva pariṇatā (Majjhima, I, p. 407).

2. (a) Caurāsīti mahākappasayasahassāim, satta-divve, satta saṁjūhe, satta saṇṇigabbhe, satta pautṭaparihāre, pañca kammanisaya-sahassāim saṭṭhim ca saḥassāni cha ca satippiya kammaṁse anupuvveṇaṁ khavattā tau pacchā sijjhanti bujjhanti jāva añtaṁ karenti ”¹ (Bhagavatī, XV. 1.).

(b) “ Cuddasa kho paṇ’ imāni yoni-pamukha-sata-sahassāni saṭṭhiṇ ca satāni cha ca satāni, pañca ca kammāni tīṇi ca kammāni kamme ca addha-kamme ca, dvatṭhi-paṭipadā..... satta saññigabbhā satta asaññigabbhā, satta nigaṇṭhigabbhā, satta devā satta mānūsā, satta pesācā,² satta supinā, satta supina-satāni, cullāsīti

¹ In some edition the text reads: sijjhanti bujjhanti muccaṁti pariṇivvāṁti sabba dukkhānaṁ añtaṁ kariṁsu vā kariṁti vā karissāṁti vā. The phrase jāva añtaṁ karenti frequently occurs in the Bhagavatī, XV. 1.

² The variant is piśācā. This reading is adopted by the commentator.

mahā-kappuno¹ satasahassāni yāni bāle
ca paṇḍite ca sandhāvitvā saṃsaritvā
dukkhass' antaṃ karissanti" (Dīgha,
I, p. 54).

3. (a) "Se-jje ime gām'-āgāra jāva saṃvivesesu
Ājīviyā bhavanti, taṃ jahā : du-gharānta-
riyā ti-gharāntariyā satta-gharāntariyā up-
palaveṇṇiyā ghara-samudāṇiyā vijjuyān-
tariyā utṭiya-samaṇā" (Aupapātika Sūtra,
Sec. 120).

- (b) "Acelakā muttācārā hatthāpalekhanā na
ehibhadantikā na tiṭṭhabhadantikā na
abhihaṭaṇaṃ na uddissakataṇaṃ na niman-
taṇaṃ sādīyanti, Te ekāgārikā
va honti ekalopikā, dvāgārikā va honti
dvālopikā, sattāgārikā va honti sattālo-
pikā" (Majjhima, I, p. 238).

The reader may notice that in the instances cited above the language is not that of the Ājīvikas, certain views and rules of theirs being reproduced in highly crystallised and distorted forms by the Jainas and Buddhists in their own languages, *i.e.*, in Ardhamāgadhi and Pāli respectively. In so doing, they have retained just a few turns of expressions and grammatical forms which appear to stand nearer to Ardhamāgadhi or Jaina Prākṛit. For instance, in the Jaina extract 1(a), the nominative singulars, whether masculine or neuter, have for their case-ending *e*, while in Pāli declension the case-ending in similar cases is *o* for masculine stems and *aṃ* for neuter. The Jaina extract reads : "n' atthi utthāne i vā purisaparakkame i vā." The Buddhist extract from the Dīgha, catalogued as 1(b), contains similar grammatical forms in "n' atthi atta-kāre n' atthi para-kāre n' atthi

¹ The reading Mahākappuno is accepted in the commentary.

purisakāre,” while these expressions are altogether omitted in the extract from the Majjhima, marked 1(c), where the Ājīvika language is more adapted to Pāli. The contrast in view can at once be brought out by comparison of 1(a) and 1(c).

1(a): n'atthi bale i vā viriye i vā purisa-parak-kame i vā.

1(c): n'atthi balaṃ n'atthi vīriyaṃ n'atthi purisa-thāmo n'atthi purisa-parakkamo.

It may be inferred from this that the Ājīvikas did not draw any distinction in their declension between masculine and neuter stems ending in *a*, in so far as the nominative singular is concerned. *Mahākappuno* occurs in 2(b) as a genitive singular of *mahākappa*, whereas the genitive plural *mahākappānaṃ* would have fitted more the context, if the language had been Pāli. Moreover, the genitive singular of *mahākappa* is always *mahākappassa* in Pāli.

The extract 2(b) also contains an Ājīvika word *supina*, the meaning of which is confounded by the Buddhist commentator with that of the Pāli word *supina*. “Satta supinā, satta supina-satāni.” Professor Rhys Davids following the authority of Buddhaghosa’s commentary, renders these expressions by “seven principal and seven hundred minor sorts of dreams.”¹ *Supina* stands in Pāli for *dream*, and Buddhaghosa naturally explains it: “supināti mahāsupinā, supinasatānīti khuddaka supina-satāni.”² but as a matter of fact, the word is Ājīvika and denotes bird, like its analogous forms *suviṇa* in Ardhamaḡadhi, *supaṇṇa* or *suvapṇu* in Pāli and *suparna* in Sanskrit. These forms—*supina*, *suviṇa*, *supaṇṇa*, and *suparna*, when put side by side, can well indicate the relative position of the Ājīvika language, Ardhamaḡadhi, Pāli and Sanskrit.

¹ Dial, B. II, p. 72.

² Sumaḡgala-vilāsinī, I, p. 164.

The Buddhist story of Upaka preserves an Ājīvika expression “huveyya pāvuso”¹ with its variants “hupeyya pāvuso,”² “hupeyya āvuso,”³ which is Sanskritised in the Lalita Vistara as “tad bhaviṣyasi Gautama,”⁴ and may be rendered “perhaps it may be so, my good friend!”⁵ *Huveyya* or *hupeyya* which is an optative form of the verbal root $\sqrt{\text{bhū}}$ is not a recognised Pāli word, the usual Pāli form of the verb being *bhaveyya*. It appears moreover from the variants mentioned above that the sounds *p* and *v* were interchangeable in the Ājīvika language. Furthermore, in a later version of the same story,⁶ the Buddhist commentator displays humour by reproducing Upaka’s actual words: “sace Cavaṃ labhāmi, jīvāmi; no ce, marāṃmīti,” i.e., “If I gain Cāvā, I will live; if not, I will die.” The Ceylonese edition of Buddhaghosa’s Papañca Sūdanī (p. 388) supplies a variant of the above reading, which is “Chavaṃ labhāmi, jīvāmi; no ce, marāṃmīti.”⁷ Here the name *Cāvā* or *Chavā* whereby Upaka refers to the fowler’s daughter with whom he fell in love is not Pāli, the usual Pāli form of the name being *Cāpā*.⁸ It also may be noted that the use of the present tense *marāmi* instead of the future form *marissāmi* is unidiomatic in Pāli. The idiomatic use of the verb can be best illustrated by these two sentences: “Yena tena upāyena gaṇha, sace na labhissāmi marissāṃmīti”⁹; “marissāmi no gamissāmi n’atthi bāle sahāyatā.”¹⁰ That the general tendency of

¹ Majjhima, I, p. 171; Paramattha-jotikā, II, Vol. I, p. 258.

²⁻³ Mahāvagga, Vol. I, p. 8.

⁴ Lefmann’s Lalita-vistara, p. 406.

⁵ Papañca-Sūdanī, Ceylonese edition, p. 388: *evam pi nāma bhaveyya*.

⁶ Paramattha-jotikā, II, Vol. I, p. 258.

⁷ Cf. Paramattha-jotika, II, Vol. I, p. 259. “Sace chāvaṃ labhāmi, jīvāmi, no cemarāṃmīti.”

⁸ Paramattha-jotikā, II, Vol. I, p. 258.

⁹ Anderson’s Pali Reader, p. 1.

¹⁰ Dhammapada-commentary, I, p. 17.

the Pāli idiom is to use the future tense in such cases is evident also from the extracts 2(a) and 2(b). Instead of “jāva antaṃ kareṃti” in the Jaina extract 2(a) we meet with “dukkhass’ antaṃ karissanti” in the Buddhist extract 2(b). I need not multiply instances here. The cases already cited include instances where the masculine and neuter stems ending in *a* are not distinguished in declension in so far as the nominative singular is concerned, and where the numbers and tenses are not properly differentiated. Are these not sufficient to justify the surmise that the Ajivika language may be judged from its crude grammatical forms as standing nearest to the Dialect and closely allied to Ardhamāgadhi?

With regard to two new Ājiviya doctrines which are said to have been formulated on the basis of Gosāla’s personal acts and incidents, I find substantial agreement between the Jaina and Buddhist accounts. The doctrines as enumerated in the Bhagavati Sūtra comprise (1) that of eight Finalities, and (2) that of four Drinkables and four Substitutes. These are interdependent as the last drink which is included in the former seems to have afforded a basis for the latter. It is not easy to understand the real signification of the doctrine of eight Finalities: the last drink, the last song, the last dance, the last solicitation, the last tornado, the last sprinkling elephant, the last fight with big stones as missiles, and the last Tithaṅkara who is Maṅkhaliputta himself. Of these, the first four items refer, as pointed out by Dr. Hoernle, to Gosāla’s delirious acts, and of the remaining four, the first three items refer to events that happened at or about the time of Gosāla’s death. The conjunction or coincidence of the death of Gosāla, the last Ājiviya Tithaṅkara, with tornado and war was *primā facie* turned into a theological doctrine of which the meaning is obscure. The doctrine finds no mention in the Buddhist literature,

nor is any explanation of it given in the Bhagavatī Sūtra. But the last item which relates to the Ājīviya attitude towards Gosāla may furnish a clue to its meaning ; it goes to show that Gosāla came to be regarded as the last Tittḥāṅkara of the Ājīviyas. This is corroborated by the evidence of the Buddhist texts which state that the Ājīvikas recognised only three persons as their leaders or peerless masters (anantaḥjinas) of whom Makkhali was the last. In a Sutta of the Majjhima Nikāya the Brāhman wanderer Sandaka says, "The Ājīvikas act like sons of those whose sons are dead. They exalt themselves and disparage others, and recognise three only as their leaders, *viz.*, Nanda Vaccha, Kisa Saṁkicca, and Makkhali Gosāla."¹ It appears from the Aṅguttara explanation of Gosāla's doctrine of six *abhijātis*, wrongly ascribed to Pūraṇa Kassapa, that the Ājīvikas placed their three leaders in the supremely white class, while they placed themselves in just the white class and their lay disciples in the yellow. The Jaina expression "last Tittḥāṅkara" also implies that the Ājīviyas recognised more tittḥāṅkaras than one. It is important to note that Gosāla came to be honoured as the last Ājīvika tittḥāṅkara in the life-time of the Buddha. This enables us to surmise that he predeceased the Buddha, although it is difficult to say by how many years. Seeing that the Ājīvikas looked back to Gosāla after his death as their last Tittḥāṅkara or peerless master, one can suggest the following as the most natural and probable interpretation of the doctrine of eight Finalities : the synchronism of Gosāla's death with such natural and political events as tornado and war was quite providential, and that it is to be regarded as a divine testimony of Gosāla being the last tittḥāṅkara, whose death was

¹ Majjhima, I. p. 524 : Ājivikā puttamatāya puttā, attānañceva ukkaṁseti paraṁ vambhenti, tayo cēva niyyātaro paññāpenti, seyyathidaṁ Nandaṁ Vacchaṁ, Kisaṁ Saṁkiccaṁ, Makkhaliṁ Gosālaṁ.

rendered doubly significant in human history by its coincidence with many other tragic and fateful occurrences.

It seems to me that the practices of four Drinkables and four Substitutes were all connected with the hard penance of suicidal starvation to which the Ājiviyas attached a peculiar religious sanctity and spiritual value, and that these appertained to three successive stages of religious suicide (*marāṇa indiya*) as the Jainas call it. In the first stage, the dying Ājiviya saint was permitted to drink something, *e.g.*, what is excreted by the cow, what has been soiled by the hand, what is heated by the sun, and what drops from a rock; in the second stage, he was permitted not to drink anything but to use some substitutes, *e.g.*, to hold in his hand a dish or a bottle or a pot or a jar which is cool or wet with water, instead of drinking from it; to squeeze or press with his mouth a mango or a hog-plum or a jujube fruit or a *tinduka* fruit when it is tender or uncooked, instead of drinking of its juice; or to squeeze or press with his mouth *kalāya* or *mudga* or *māsa* or *simbali* beans when they are tender or uncooked, instead of drinking of their juice; while in the third or last stage, he had to forego even that. In practising the penance of Pure Drink the Ājiviya had to lie down for six months, lying successively for two months at a time on the bare earth, on wooden planks and on *darbha* grass. This indicates that the longest period allotted for the penance was six months, each stage of it having been gone through in two months, and therein lay the novelty of the Ājiviya method of attaining salvation by means of religious suicide. This new method of death by starvation seems to have been similar to the 'thrice-threefold way' (*tidhā tidhā*) introduced by Nāyaputta, *i.e.*, Mahāvira,¹ as an improvement on the older method

¹ Āyāraṅga Sutta, I, 7.8.12: Ayaṃ se avare dhamme Nāyaputtēna sāhīe, āyavajjaṃ paḍiyāraṃ vijahejjā tidhā tidhā

adopted apparently by the followers of Pārśva, *e.g.*, by Mahāvīra's parents.¹ The underlying motives of this barbarous practice, as described in the Āyāraṅga Sutta,² are the following:

1. Riddance from kamma.
2. Endurance (titikkhā).
3. Sanctity of animal life.
4. Freedom from attachment.
5. Self-control.
6. Attainment of Nirvāṇa.³

The grand moral of the doctrine involved is:

“Jiviyam nābhikamkhejjā maraṇam no vi patthae,
duhato vi na sajjejjā jivite maraṇe tahā.”

i.e., “He should not long for life, nor wish for death; he should yearn after neither, life or death.”⁴

It appears from Buddha's representation of the Ājīvika religion in his Lomahaṁsa Discourse⁵ that the Ājīvikas followed the same elaborate method for the attainment of the truth as for the attainment of the Accuta world. The Ajīvika religion is described there as “the higher life in its four forms” (caturaṅgasamannāgataṁ brahmacariyaṁ)⁶ and its fundamental principles are summed up in the Mahāsihanāda Sutta⁷ by these two expressions: purification by food (āhārena suddhi) and purification by transmigration (saṁsārena suddhi). The four-fold brahmacariya consisted of—

1. Tapassitā—asceticism.⁸
2. Lūkhacariyā—austerity;

¹ *Ibid.*, II, 15.16.

² *Ibid.*, II, 7.8; II, 15.16.

³ Lit. paramā titikkhā, *ibid.*, I, 7.8.25. Cf. Dhammapada, verse 184: titikkhā Nibbānaṁ paramaṇṇaṁ.

⁴ Jacobi's Jaina Sūtras, part I. p. 75.

⁵ The Lomahaṁsa Discourse in the Jātaka (Jātaka No. 94).

⁶ Majjhima, I. p. 77; Jātaka, I. p. 391.

⁷ *Ibid.*, I. pp. 80-82.

⁸ *Ibid.*, I. p. 77; Jātaka, I. p. 390.

3. Jegucchitā—comfort-loathing,
and 4. Pavivittatā—solitude.

Of these, the first point, *i.e.*, *Tapassitā*, exhausts the description of the rules of the Ājīvika order as met with in the Mahāsaccaka¹ and a number of other suttas.² It seems to me that the fourfold brahmacariya was tacitly implied in *Tapassitā*, and was indeed the outcome of a further analysis of the older body of rules. According to the teaching of the caturāṅga brahmacariya, the Ājīvika had to be an ascetic, the chief of ascetics; ugly in his habits beyond all others; comfort-loathing surpassing all others; and lonely with unsurpassed passion for solitude. As an ascetic (*tapassitāya*), he had to go naked, to be of loose habits, etc.; as ugly in his habits (*lūkhasmim*) he had to allow his body to be covered with a coating of dust accumulating for many years without thinking yet of rubbing it off by his own hand, or having it rubbed off by the hand of others; as comfort-loathing (*jegucchismim*), he had to move about being mindful so as to bestow his love on a drop of water, and careful not to hurt small creatures; and as solitary recluse (*pavivittasmim*), he had to flee like a deer from the face of men. The great moral involved in this mode of holy life is:—

“So tatto,³ so sito,⁴ eko bhimsanake vane,
naggo na cāggim āsino, esanāpasuto munīti”⁵

i.e., “Bescorched, befrozen, lone in the fearsome woods,
Naked, no fire beside, all afire within,
The hermit is bent on seeking the truth.”⁶

As regards his food, the Ājīvika had to live on jujube fruits, and on *muggas*, *tilas* and *tandulas*, whole

¹ Majjhima, I. p. 238; cf. p. 77.

² Aṅguttara, Part I, p. 295.

³ Cf. variant Suttatto, Majjhima, p. 536.

⁴ Cf. variant so sīno, *ibid.*, I, p. 536.

⁵ Majjhima, I, p. 79; Jātaka, I, p. 390.

⁶ Cf. Jātaka translation, I, p. 230; Dial. B. II. p. 208.

or powdered. On this point the account of the Loma-hansa Jātaka differs from that of the Mahāsīhanāda Sutta just described. The former describes the Ājīvika as the ascetic “unclothed and covered with dust, solitary and lonely, fleeing like a deer from the face of men, whose food was small fish, cowdung, and other refuse.”¹

It has been shown that Rāyagiha, Uddandapura, Campā, Vānārasi Ālabhiyā, Vesāli and Sāvattthi were the successive and principal centres of Ājīvika activity up till the Jinahood of Gosāla. These names indicate that Ājīvikism which was at first a local movement of Rāyagiha spread within a century or more over the Middle Country, and that the progress of this movement proceeded along two paths, one leading to Campā as the most easterly point, and the other to Sāvattthi as the extreme western limit. At this various centres the Ājīvikas had to encounter two formidable enemies, the Jaina and the Buddhist, besides the Brāhman and the Kumāraputta,² their common enemies. It appears from Gosāla’s division of time that the Ājīvika movement was confined even under his leadership, within the land of the seven rivers (satta sarā), or more accurately, to the Gangetic valley.³ The scenes of the early years of Gosāla’s career as a mendicant are laid round Rāyagiha and Paṇiyabhūmi. The latter was probably the farthest point in the South-east which lay outside the territorial division of the

¹ Jātaka, I, p. 390; Ājīvikapabbajjauṇṇaṃ pabbajitvā aelako ahoṣi rajojalliko, pavivitto ahoṣi ekavihārī, manusse disvā migo viya palāyī, mahāvīkatabhojano ahoṣi macchagomayādāni paribhūjī.

² Pārśva’s followers were called Kumārasamaṇas. (Uttarārdhyayana, lecture 23) or Niggaṇṭha samaṇas, Kumāraputtas (Sūyaggaṇḍaṅga II. 7. 6).

³ Satta sarā are, according to Buddhaghosa’s commentary, seven great lakes, viz., Kaṇṇamunḍa, Rathakūra, Anotatta, Sihappapūta, Tiyaṅgula, Mucalinda, Kuṇḍaladaha (Sumaṅgalavilāsini I. p. 164). This does not seem to be correct. In the Bhagavatī Sūtra we meet with the names of seven rivers viz., Gaṅgā, Sūdinagaṅgā, Madugaṅgā, Lohiyagaṅgā, Avatigaṅgā, and Paramāvatigaṅgā (Rockhill’s Life of the Buddha p. 253).

Middle Country. Puṇiyabhūmi seems to have been a river-port in Western Bengal.¹ Indeed, so far as the easterly point is concerned, it can be shown that Western Bengal became a scene of the Ājīvikas and the older Niggaṇṭhas (Pārśva's followers) even before the Jinahood of Gosāla. According to the Bhagavatī account Gosāla and Mahāvīra met each other in Nālaṃdā and thenceforward they lived together for six years in Puṇiyabhūmi, which was a place according to the Jaina commentaries in Vajjabhūmi, elsewhere, described as one of the two divisions of Lāḍha.² The Āyāraṃga Sutta contains a fine Prākṛit ballad,³ where it is related that Mahāvīra wandered for some time as a naked mendicant in Lāḍha of which Vajjabhūmi and Subbbabhūmi were apparently two divisions. Lāḍha is described as a pathless country (duccara).

The rude natives of the place generally maltreated the ascetics. When they saw the ascetics, they called up their dogs by the cry of "Chucchū"⁴ and set them upon the samaṇas. It was difficult to travel in Lāḍha. It is said that many recluses lived in Vajjabhūmi where they were bitten by the dogs and cruelly treated in a hundred other ways. Some of the recluses carried bamboo staves in order to keep off the dogs (latṭhiṃ gahāya nāliyaṃ).⁵ We have seen that Upaka, the Ājīvika, described himself, while he was living in a frontier district of Bengal, as a mendicant carrying a staff, his expression "latṭhihattho pure āsīṃ" implying that the Ājīvikas habitually went about with a staff in hand, which was a matter of necessity with them. These Jaina and Buddhist references can well explain why Pāṇini described the

¹ According to the commentary of the Kalpasūtra, it is a place in Vajrabhūmi.

² Śīlāṅka's tīkā on the Āyāraṃgasutta I. 8, 3, 2.

³ Ohāṇasīya, the discourse which is to be listened to. Āyāraṃga, I. 8.

⁴ Āyāraṃga I. 8. 3. 4.

⁵ *Ibid.*, I. 8. 3. 5.

Maskariṇa as a class of wanderers provided with bamboo staves (maskara-maskariṇo-veṇuparivrājakayoḥ). So far as the westerly point is concerned, we have seen that towards the close of Gosāla's life the Ājīviyas were being driven even out of Sāvattī. The Buddhist literature also preserves a few episodes where the Ājīvikas came into conflict with the Buddhists in Sāvattī.¹ It is mentioned in the Bhagavatī Sūtra that the Ājīvika centre was shifted not long after Gosāla's death to Puṇḍa, a country at the foot of the Vinjhā mountains, of which the capital was a city provided with a hundred gates (Sayaduvāra). A king Mahāpauma (Mahāpadma), otherwise known as Devaseṇa and Vimalavāhaṇa, is said to have persecuted the Jainas at the instigation of the Ājīviyas, whose royal patron he was. The wicked king was destroyed by the magical powers of a Jaina saint named Sumaṅgala, the disciple of Arahat Vimala.² It is also recorded in the Bhagavatī that Ambaḍa Dadhapaṇṇa, a wealthy citizen of the great Videha country, sought to bring about a reconciliation between the hostile sects by conferring with the Jainas.³ The fifteenth chapter of the Bhagavatī sūtra seems to have been the record of an age when the Ājīvika and Jaina religions were spread over Aṅga, Vāṅga, Magaha, Malaya, Mālava, Accha, Vaccha, Koccha, Pādha, Lādha, Bajji, Moli, Kāsi, Kosala, Avaha and Sambhuttara, of which some are countries which were situated outside the territorial division of the Middle country, *e.g.*, Vāṅga, Malaya, Mālava, Accha, Koccha, Pādha, Lādha, Avaha and Sambhuttara.⁴ The same chapter also points to an age when many Vedic and non-Aryan deities were affiliated to

¹ Viśākṣhavatthu, Dhammapada Commentary, IV, No. 8.

² Hoernle's Appendix, I, pp. 11-12.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

the Ājīviya pantheon, *e.g.*, Puṇṇabhadda, and Māṇibhadda, Sohamma, Saṇakkumāra, Bambha, Mahāsukka, Anaya and Āraṇa.¹ The Ājīvikas believed that to those who practised the penance of Pure Drink, two gods Puṇṇabhadda and Māṇibhadda appeared on the last night of six months, and held their limbs with their cool and wet hands; if they submitted then to their caresses, they furthered the work of serpents, and if they did not, then a mysterious fire arose in their bodies to consume them.² Puṇṇabhadda and Māṇibhadda are represented as if they were the local deities of Puṇḍa, where the twin gods were looked upon as generals of King Devasena Mahāpauma.³ We say that some of the non-Aryan and Vedic deities were affiliated into the Ājīvika pantheon, because in the Buddhist Niddesas the worshippers of Puṇṇabhadda and Maṇibhadda are described as representing two distinct groups of worshippers, distinct from the Ājīvikas, the Nigaṇṭhas and the rest. The Niddesa list includes the following, apparently under two categories of disciples (schools) and devotees (sects)—

- (1) Disciples: the Ājīvikas, the Nigaṇṭhas, the Jaṭilas, the Paribbājakas, and the Aviruddhakas.
- (2) Devotees: Worshippers of elephant, of horse, cow, dog, crow, Vāsudeva, Baladeva, Puṇṇabhaddadeva, Maṇibhaddadeva, Aggi, Nāga, Suvanna, Yakkha, Asura, Gandhabba, Mahārāja Canda, Suriya, Inda, Brahmā, Deva, and Disā.

Further, the Niddesa list points to a time when the religious sects started deifying, more or less, their heroes. The Aṅguttara Nikāya contains an older list of ten

¹ Hoernle's Appendix, I, p. 14.

² *Ibid.*, p. 11.

³ Cullaniddesa, pp. 173-174:—Ājīvika-sāvakaṇaṃ Ājīvikadevatā, Nigaṇṭha-sāvakaṇaṃ Nigaṇṭhadevatā etc., cf. Mahāniddesa, pp. 89-92.

religious orders of which five only are noticed in the Niddesa under the first category, while under the second category are included the various groups of devotees which are not to be found in the former.¹ The anomaly thus involved can perhaps be explained away by the supposition that some of the orders had died out when the Niddesa list was closed, *e.g.*, the Muṇḍasāvakas ; or that the older list was considered as redundant, *e.g.*, in the case of the Paribbājakas and the Tedaṇḍikas ; or that the Niddesa groups of devotees were promiscuously comprised under one name, *e.g.*, Devadhammika, the worshipper of deities in general. In support of the third hypothesis I may refer the reader to the commentarial fragment on precepts in the Brahmajālasutta, where there is reference to the worship of the sun, the worship of the mother earth, and the invocation of Sirī, the goddess of Luck². But the reader can at once judge for himself that the deities and forms of worship mentioned in the Brahmajālasutta were not all foreign to the Vedic, and further that the worshippers of these deities did not form distinct groups or corporations³. Moreover, some of the deities and forms of worship mentioned in the Niddesas are referred to in Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī⁴ and the Jaina Upāṅga the Aupapātika Sūtra. The former speaks of devotion to Mahārāja, Vāsudeva, Arjuna, clan and country, while the latter makes mention of Vāsudeva, Baladeva, and Cakkavatti in whose existence the Jains

¹ Aṅguttara, pt. III, Ājīvika, Nigaṇṭha, Muṇḍasāvaka, Jaṭilaka, Paribbājaka, Māgaṇḍika, Tedaṇḍika, Aviruddhaka, Gotamaka, Devadhammika. *Dial. B.* II. pp. 220-222.

² Dīghanikāya, I, pp.

³ The following are mentioned in the Milinda, p. 191, as gaṇas : Mallā, Atonā, Pabbatā, Dhammagiriya, Brahmagiriya, Naṭakā, Naccakā, Laṅghakā, Pisācā, Maṇibhaddā, Puṇṇabhaddā, Candima-Suriyā, Siridevatā, Kali or Kālī-devatā, Sivā, Vāsudeva, Ghanikā, Asipāsā, Bhaddiputtā.

⁴ Pāṇini, IV. 3. 95-100.

were called upon to believe. The very fact that Vāsudeva, Baladeva and Emperor were recognised by the Jainas among prominent personalities (Śalākāpuruṣas) is an evidence that some sort of synthesis took place among the different religious communities, living in the same country and perhaps under the same rule. Thus three different records of the Brāhmins, the Jainas and the Buddhists concur in pointing to a time when the rival religious sects had to make a compromise among them by accepting the deities of one another, especially to an epoch when the Emperor had to be worshipped as a god. The Mahābodhi-jātaka also bears testimony to the fact that politics (Khattavijjā) teaching that one should seek one's material advantage even by killing one's parents passed into a religious dogma.¹ All these seem to bring out one fact *viz.* that such changes in Indian religion were coeval with the foundation of an empire and consequent on the growth of the idea of personality in religion and state. Seeing that the beginnings of these developments were as old as the the Buddha's life-time,² it seems probable that the process of deification in religion and state ran side by side with the making of the Magadha Empire.

There can be no gainsaying that the Ājīvikas retained an important position during the Maurya rule. The Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra, which may be regarded in a sense as a faithful record of Candragupta's administration, prohibits by penal legislation entertainment of the Śākya (Buddhists) and the Ājīvikas at the time of *śrāddha*

¹ Jātaka, Vol. V, p. 228: Khattavijjāvādī "Mātāpitarōpi māretvā attano va attho kāmatabbo" ti gaṇhāpesi. It is especially to be noted that the doctrine referred to is to be found in the verse-quotation from the canonical Jātaka Book, which is as old as the 4th century B.C., if not older, cf. p. 240.

² Aṅguttara, I. pp. 77: Tathāgato ca araham samma sambuddho rājā ca cakkavattī.....acchariyamanussā.....(yesam) kālakiriya bahunō janassa anutappādve thūparahā. Cf; Dīgha II. p. 142.

and sacrifice.¹ This is not surely to be cited as an incontestable proof of religious persecution in the face of other evidences proving that the ascetics in general were avoided by Indian peoples on such occasions.² The very sight of the saṃnyāsins, particularly of naked mendicants like the Ājīvikas, was repulsive to persons of good taste, especially to the womenfolk who were the custodians of good manners then as now. It is said of the Buddhist lady Visākhā that she remarked at the sight of the Ājīvikas: "Such shameless persons, completely devoid of the sense of decency, cannot be Arahants."³ The same feeling is expressed more emphatically with regard to the naked Jaina ascetic in the Divyāvadāna through the mouth of a courtesan in the following verses:⁴

"Katham sa buddhimān bhavati puruṣo vyañjanāvitaḥ
lokasya paśyato yo' ayaṃ grāme carti nagnakaḥ
Yasyāyaṃ idrīṣo dharmah purastāt lambate daśā
tasya vai śravaṇau rājā kṣuraprenāvakrintatu."

The real attitude of a Brāhman teacher of polity and minister of state like Viṣṇugupta or Cānakya towards the Ājīvikas and naked ascetics in general is clearly brought out in a story of the Pañcatantra.⁵ The substance of the story is that Mañibhadra, an unfortunate banker of Pāṭaliputra,⁶ was directed by the angel Padmanidhi in dream to strike him with a *lakṣa* when he would appear

¹ Shamaśāstry's Arthaśāstra, 251: Those who entertained the Buddhists and the Ājīvikas at the time of *śrāddha* and sacrifice were punishable by a fine of 100 paṇas.

² The Paramatthajotikā, III. Vol. I. p. 175 records the following Brahmanic belief: "mañgalakiccasu samuṇadassanaṃ amaṇḍalaṃ."

³ Dhammapada Commentary, p. 400: "evarūpa hīrottappavirahitā arahantā nāma nahontī."

⁴ Divyāvadāna, p. 165.

Ibid., p. 370.

⁵ Pañcatantra, ed. Kielhorn, V. 1.

Pāṭaliputra is placed in the Deccan (Dākṣiṇāṭye).

next morning before him in the guise of a Kṣapaṇaka, and strangely enough, carrying out the angel's suggestion the banker was much surprised to find the body of the Kṣapaṇaka transmuted into gold. A covetous barber who happened to witness this wonderful feat of miracle conceived a plan of obtaining gold by striking the Kṣapaṇakas with a *lakṣa*. With this end in view, he lost no time to go to a Kṣapaṇaka monastery where after showing due honour to the *Jinendra*, he recited three couplets expressive of the religious sentiments of three sects—the Ājīvika, the Jaina and the Buddhist. The second couplet which strikes the keynote of the Ājīvika and Jaina faiths is :

“ Sā jihvā yā jinaṃ stauti, taccittam yat jine rataḥ
Tāveva ca karau ślāghyau yau tat pūjā karau. ”

“ That is the tongue which praises the Lord ;
that the heart which is devoted to the Lord,
and those hands are verily praiseworthy which honour Him.”

Thus the cunning barber managed to induce the Kṣapaṇakas to accept invitation to dinner in his house, and when they came in a body next morning, he struck them with a strong *lakṣa* as they stepped into his house one after another. The news of the murder and panic of the Kṣapaṇakas soon spread through the city. The barber was arrested, tried, found guilty and severely punished. The Kṣapaṇaka of the story is evidently a mixed character combining the Jaina with the Ājīvika. In the story itself the Kṣapaṇaka is described as a naked mendicant (*nagnaka*), a Digambara worshipper of the Jinas, replete with supreme knowledge (*kevala-jñāna-sālinām*). It goes to show that both the Jaina and the Ājīvika, in common with other naked ascetics, had pretension to supernaturalism and miracles, and that with them Jinahood constituted the highest ideal of human perfection. The name of the banker Maṇibhadra is itself

of great importance as confirming the Bhagavati account representing the disciples of Gosāla as votaries of the twin angels Puṇṇabhadda and Maṇibhadda. Viṣṇugupta's teaching in the story is that the proper treatment by a householder of the shameless naked ascetics professing to possess supernormal faculties was to strike them with the very staff which some of them carried about them, to apply, in other words, his own Daṇḍanīti to the Daṇḍins. But this course was not meant to be adopted literally, since a principle which was valid in theory might lead to disastrous consequences when blindly adhered to in practice. The disastrous consequences here contemplated are typified in the story by the tragic fate of the Kṣapaṇakas and the barber.

Viśākhadatta's *Mudrārākṣasa* which is one of the most important historical dramas in Sanskrit, dated between the 5th and the 6th century A.D.,¹ paints the character of a Kṣapaṇaka who, like the Kṣapaṇaka of the Pañcatantra story, is relegated to the same period, and is a mixed character² representing the Ājīvika and the Digambara Jaina under one name. Mr. Telang points out that Cāṇakya introduced the Kṣapaṇaka to Rākṣasa, and that a Brāhman minister became so close a friend of his as to speak of his heart itself having been taken possession of by the enemy when he saw him.³ The chief motive of the play is not far to seek; Viśākhadatta in eulogising the shrewd political principles of the Indian Machiavelli sought to show how even a naked mendicant, houseless, dispassionate, meditating on the reality of the living principle (jīvasiddhi kṣapaṇaka) could be made a friend

¹ Mr. Telang places the date of the play between the 7th and the 8th century A.D., Mr. Vincent Smith between the 5th and the 6th century A.D., and Prof. Hillebrandt in 400 A.D.

² Cf. Telang's introduction to his edition of the *Mudrārākṣasa*, p. 17. Prof. Wilson thinks that kṣapaṇaka denotes in the play a Jaina, not a Buddhist.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

of ferocious Mammon (Mudrārākṣasa) to serve as a tool of Cāṇakya (Cāṇakya-praṇidhi).¹

The Kṣapaṇaka is introduced in the play as a mendicant with shaved head (muṇḍia muṇḍa),² speaking Prākṛit instead of Sanskrit, an exponent of the reality of the living principle (jīvasiddhi),³ respecting the teaching of the Arakants,⁴ irascible or hot-tempered, greedy of lucre, adept in palmistry, fortune-teller, consulted for fixing lucky days, an hypocrite always crying out, "There is no iniquity for the followers,"⁵ wishing success to laymen in their business concerns,⁶ and proclaiming victory of the cause of righteousness.⁷ But the Kṣapaṇaka in question serving as a spy or 'Cāṇakya's tool' as it is called, cannot be reasonably taken as a true representative of his order except under the supposition that his pretensions were characteristic of the naked medics whom he was called upon to imitate in his outward demeanour. The picture drawn of the Kṣapaṇaka seems to have a touch of reality receiving confirmation from two older Sanskrit treatises, the Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra and the Vātsyāyana Kāmasūtra, which in their general form, style and purpose can be said to belong to the same materialistic age.

Vātsyāyana Kāmasūtra speaks of the houses and establishments of the female attendants, bhikṣuṇīs, kṣapaṇikās and tāpasis as the fittest places for love-intrigues,⁸ as in the much later treatises on poetics we find that the rule

¹ Mudrārākṣasa, Telang's edition, p. 258. Jīvasiddhirapi Cāṇakya-praṇidhi.

² *Ibid.*, p. 222.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 252. Note that *jīva* is the first of the Jaina *navatattvas*.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 212 : Sāsanaṃ alihantānaṃ.

⁵ "N'atthi pāvaṃ, n'atthi pāvaṃ sāvagāṇaṃ."

⁶ "Kajjasiddhi hodu sāvagāṇaṃ."

⁷ "Dhammasiddhi hodu sāvagāṇaṃ."

⁸ Kāmasūtra, V. 4. 42 : Sakhi-bhikṣuki-kṣapaṇikā-tāpasi-bhavanaṣu sukhōpāyah
cf. *Ibid.*, IV. 1.9 : Bhikṣuki-śramaṇā-kṣapaṇā-mūlakārikābhir na saṃsriyeta. I am indebted to Pandit Bidhu Shekhar Bhattacharyya for these references.

is laid down to select female attendants, dancing girls and female ascetics to play the part of messengers in love intrigues,¹ which is illustrated in the *Mālatī Mādhava* by the character of the Buddhist sister *Kāmandakī*, busy with her disciple *Avalokitā* and friend *Buddharakkhitā* arranging for secret marriages.² One may find parallels in the stories of *Devasmitā* in the *Kathāsarit Sāgara*³ and of *Nitambavati* in the *Daśa-kumāracarita*,⁴ where the Buddhist female ascetics are represented as taking an active part in such indefensible affairs.⁵ How far these references represent a real state of things this is not the place to discuss. But the *Arthaśāstra* also bears evidence to the fact that the religious orders in the 4th century B.C. were not free from such moral corruptions, although the cases of moral transgression were confined to a few individuals. It also goes to prove that with the rapid growth of a centralised form of government it was possible for *Cāṇakya* to organise a most elaborate system of espionage under which the services of all, whether recluses or householders, cultivators or traders, wise or idiot, male or female, could be utilised for the promotion of material advantages, and under which even a *Kṣapaṇaka* meditating on the reality of the living principle could easily be induced to serve the purpose of a state, as a tool in the hands of *Cāṇakya*. The *Arthaśāstra* devotes two chapters, XI and XII, to the subjects of training persons in espionage (*gūḍhapuruṣōtpatti*) and of employing spies in different branches of secret service (*gūḍhapuruṣa-pranidhi*). It appears from the rules laid down therein that spies were recruited, if possible, from among the

¹ *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*, III.157: *Dūtyaḥ sakhī-naṭī pravrajitā.*"

² *Jātaka*, I, p. 257.

³ *Divyāvadāna*, p. 427.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, 1912, p. 90.

⁵ *Jātaka*, I, p. 493.

recluses of different orders, *muṇḍas* and *jaṭilas*, hermits and wanderers, males and females, who were seekers of livelihood (*vr̥ittikāmā*) by such clandestine means. The spies in the guise of female ascetics were employed to watch movements of persons in the harems (*antaḥpure*), the *siddha* hermits outside a fort, and the Śramans, if necessary, in a forest. The spies disguised as *muṇḍas*, *jaṭilas* or hermits had to live together with a large following in the suburbs of a city, pretending to subsist on pot-herbs and wheat, eating once at the interval of a month or two. Thus we have sufficient reasons to accept the Kṣapaṇaka of the Mudrārākṣasa as true to life, but the state of moral corruptions in which the Ājīvikas and the Jainas were implicated along with various other orders of ascetics was in no way peculiar to the age of Cāṇakya and Candragupta Maurya, for, as I expect to show in part II, these were among the natural adjuncts to the growth of the centralised forms of government and to the erection of monastic cloisters. Viśākhadatta's account of the intimacy of the Kṣapaṇaka with Malayaketu upholding the banner of Malaya country which, according to the Bhagavatī account, became a common stronghold of the Jainas and the Ājīvikas, and the use of a Kṣapaṇaka by Cāṇakya as a weapon against King Mahāpadma Nanda is of some historical importance. King Devaseṇa Mahāpauma of Puṇḍa is described in the Bhagavatī, as we have seen, as a patron of the Ājīvikas, and it is not improbable that the Jaina Sūtra has confounded the emperor of Magadha with a petty chief of a country at the foot of the Viñjhā mountains. The very name of King Mahāpauma's capital Sayaduvāra, a city with a hundred gates reminds one of a magnificent metropolis like Pāṭaliputra.

The Divyāvadāna mentions Piṅgalavatsa as an Ājīvika who was employed in the service of king

Vindusāra as a court-astrologer,¹ while a Jātaka story preserves an old tradition to the effect that astrology was almost a profession with the Ājīvikas even in the Buddha's life-time.² The Divyāvadāna testifies to the fact that Puṇḍavardhana was a stronghold of the Ājīvikas in the time of king Aśoka.³ Prince Vitasoka was a patron of the Ājīvikas who are confounded, as noticed by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, with the Nirgranthas or Jainas.⁴ He was a strong believer in physical torture which the Buddhist considered useless (micchātapa).⁵ The conflict of claims involved between the two standpoints is clearly brought out in the following verses :

1. Buddhist thesis—

Na nagnacaryā na jātā na paṅko nānāśanaṁ sthandilāsāyikā vā
na rajomalaṁ nōtkuṭukaprahāṇam viśodhayen moham
aviśīrṇakāṅkham.

Alaṁkṛitaṁ cāpi careta dharamaṁ dāntēndriyaḥ sāntaḥ
saṁyato brahmacārī
sarveṣu bhūteṣu nidhāya daṇḍaṁ sa brāhmaṇaḥ sa śramaṇaḥ
sa bhikṣuḥ.⁶

2. Ājīvika antithesis—

Kaṣṭhe'smin vijane vane nivasatāṁ vāyavambu-mūlāśinām
rāgo naiva jito yadiha riṣinā kālaprakarṣena hi
Bhuktvānnaṁ saghṛitaṁ prabhūtapīṣitaṁ dadhyūttamālaṁkṛitaṁ
Śākyesvindriyanigraho yadi bhaved Vindhyaḥ plavet sāgare.⁷

The Divyāvadāna also relates that 18,000 Ājīvikas at Puṇḍavardhana had to pay a heavy toll of death in

¹ Mālatī Mādhava, Bombay Sanskrit Series, Act I, p. 9.

² Kathāsarit Sāgara, Taraṅga XIII, No. 68.

³ Daśakumāracarita, Cal. edition, p. 121.

⁴ Cf. Telang's introduction to the Muḍrārāksasa, p. 19.

⁵ Divyāvadāna, p. 339. Cf. Dhammapada, verse 141-142; Mahābhārata, III, verse 13455; Suttanipāta, verse 249.

⁶ Divyāvadāna, p. 420. Cf. Bhaṭṭṛihari's oft-quoted śloka :—

Viśvāmitra-Parāśara-prabhṛitayo vātāmbu-paripāśanāḥ; te' pi strīnāṁ śrīmukha-
paṅkajāṁ dṛiṣṭvāpi mohamgatāḥ

Sakānnaṁ sāghṛitaṁ payodadhiyutaṁ ye bhūñjate mānavasteṣāṁ
indriyanigraho yadi bhavet paṅgustaret sāgarāṁ.

⁷ The Ājīvikas are wrongly described as Nirgrantha upāsakas.

one day in the hands of King Aśoka for the fault of one Nirgrantha upāsaka¹ who had dishonoured the Buddha-image. Deeply grieved at similar sacrilege committed by another Nirgrantha upāsaka at Pāṭaliputra, the king burned him alive together with his kinsmen, and announced by a royal proclamation that the reward of a *Dināra* would be given to a person who could produce the head of a Nirgrantha, with the result that his own brother prince Vītaśoka was found among the victims.² It is inconceivable that king Aśoka was ever implicated in such an atrocious crime as the Divyāvadāna would have us believe. The tradition just referred to must be regarded as spurious and baseless for the simple reason that the Buddha is nowhere represented by an image in any sculpture which can be dated in Aśokan age. We are aware, moreover, that King Aśoka in his seventh Pillar Edict, where he sums up the various measures adopted by him towards the propagation of *dhamma*, expressly states that he had employed his Dharmamahāmātrās for dispensing the royal favour to, and exercising supervision over, the Brāhmins, the Ājīvikas and the Jainas, as among all other sects.³ Furthermore, the king elsewhere³ declares that he granted two cave-dwellings to the Ājīvikas when he had been consecrated twelve years.

That the Ājīvikas continued to enjoy certain amount of respect from the people of Magadha and retained a hold

¹ Divyāvadāna, p. 427; Puṇḍavardhane ekadivase aṣṭādaśasahasraṇyājīvikānāṃ praghātītāni.

² Devānaṃ piye Piyaḍasi hevaṃ āhā: Dhamma Mahāmātāpi me te bahuviddhesu aṭhesu ānugahikesu viyāpaṭā.....se saṃghatāsi pi me kaṭe ime viyāpaṭā hohaṃtiti; heṃeva bābhanesu ājīvikesu pi me kaṭe ime viyāpaṭā hohaṃtiti; nigaṃthesu pi me kaṭe ime viyāpaṭā hohaṃti; nānāpāsāṇḍesu pi me kaṭe ime viyāpaṭā hohaṃtiti. Paṭivisiṭhaṃ paṭivisiṭhaṃ tesu tesu te te mahāmātā dhammamahāmātā ca me etesu ceva viyāpaṭā savesu ca aṃnesu pāsāṇḍesu.

³ i.e., in his Cave Inscriptions: (1) Lājinā Piyaḍasinaṃ duvāḍasavasābhi (sitena) iyaṃ nigohakubbā dinā ājīvikehi: (2) Lājinā Piyaḍasinaṃ duvāḍasavasābhisitena iyaṃ kubhā khalatikapavatāsi dinā ājīvikehi.

on the liberality of the Mauryas even after the reign of Aśoka is proved by the three cave dedications in the Nāgārjuni Hills, made by King Daśaratha, who perhaps succeeded his grandfather Aśoka in the throne of Magadha. No inscription has been found as yet recording gifts to any other sect, particularly to Buddhists which one might well expect from him, seeing that he was the grandson and successor of the greatest Buddhist Emperor of India. The presumption is that whatever his faith may have been, his mind was obsessed with the Ājīvika creed. The Ājīvika influence continued in Northern India to the end of the Maurya rule, to the time of Patañjali who is placed by modern scholars in *circa* 150 B.C. For we have noticed that Patañjali in his comment on Pāṇini's Sūtra, VI. 1. 154, was not content with calling the Maskariṇa a Maskariṇa simply because he carried a bamboo staff about him, but went a step further in suggesting that the name Maskarī also signified that he taught "mā kṛitakarmāṇi, mā kṛitakarmāṇi," i.e., "don't perform actions, don't perform actions, &c.," which he could not have done in departure from the original sūtra of Pāṇini, if he had no personal acquaintance with the views of the Maskariṇas.

The Milindapañho (*circa* 1st century A.D.) takes some notice of the fatalistic creed of Makkhali Gosāla, who is wrongly represented as a contemporary of Milinda (Menander B.C. 155), the Indo-Bactrian king of Sāgala.¹ The Milinda account is in essence the same as that which is to be found in the Sāmaññaphala Sutta, with this important difference that it interprets Gosāla's doctrine of fate as being completely adapted to the rigid caste-system of the Brāhmins.² Such an interpretation of his doctrine of fate

¹ Milinda, pp. 4-5.

² *Ibid.*, p. 5: N'atthi.....Kusalākusalāni kammāṇi, n'atthi sukaṭadukkaṭāṇaṃ kammāṇaṃ phalaṃ vipāka,ye te idhaloke khattiyā te paralokaṃ gantvā ip puna khattiyā va bhuvissanti, etc.

as this would seem incompatible with his general theory of evolution, teaching that even a dew-drop is destined to attain perfection through transmigration. It would be interesting, nevertheless, if the historian could prove that the Ājīvika creed found its adherents in the cosmopolitan city of Sāgala, situated not far from Alasanda dīpa (the island of Alexandria), enumerated in the Mahānidessa as an important port.¹ Here I would just call attention to two controversies in the Milinda which have reference to the common views and practices of the Ājīvikas and the Jainas :

(1) the controversy as to whether water is a living substance—"kiṃ.....udakaṃ jīvati?"²

(2) the controversy as to whether suicide is a crime —"Na attānaṃ pātetabbaṃ?"³

The Bhagavatī Sūtra also refers to an Ājīviya committing religious suicide at Videha some centuries after Gosāla's death.⁴ When the Chinese pilgrim Fa Hien visited India in the 5th Century A.D., he saw 96 different sects of Northern India in Sāvatti, among whom he mentions only the followers of Devadatta by name. From this it is not clear that the Ajīvikas retained a hold at that time on Sāvatti proper. Indeed the subsequent history of the Ajīvikas shows that the Ajīvikas found a stronghold outside the Middle Country.

Referring to Varāhamihira's list of religious orders laying down rules of ordination under different constellations and planets,⁵ his commentator Utpala says that his enumeration was based on the authority of the Jaina

Mahānidessa, p. 155. Rhys Davids is of opinion that it was an island in the Indus.

¹ Milinda p. 258.

² *Ibid.*, p. 195.

³ Hoernle's Appendix I, p. 14.

⁴ Vṛihajjātaka, XV. 1.

⁵ See extract from Utpala's commentary, quoted in Ind. Ant., 1912, p. 287.

teacher Kālakācārya, and substantiates his position by citation of actual words of the latter.¹ Varāhamihira's list includes :

- (1) Śākya, the wearer of scarlet robe.
- (2) Ājīvika, the one-staff man.
- (3) Bhikṣu, or Saṁnyāsin.
- (4) Vṛiddhaśrāvaka, the skull bearer.
- (5) Caraka, the wheel-bearer.
- (6) Nirgrantha, the naked one.
- (7) Vanyāśana, or hermit.²

There are two lists³ of Kālakācārya. The first list as explained by the commentator comprises :—

- (1) Tāvasia = Tāpasika, hermit.
- (2) Kāvālia = Kāpālīka, skull bearer.
- (3) Rattavaḍa = Raktapaṭa, one of scarlet robe.
- (4) Eadaṇḍī = Ekadaṇḍī, one-staff-man.
- (5) Jai = Yati.
- (6) Caraa = Caraka.
- (7) Khavaṇāī = Kṣapaṇaka.

The second list consists of

- (1) Jalana = jvalana, sâgnika.
- (2) Hara = Īśvarabhakta, God-worshipper, *i.e.*, Bhaṭ-
tāraka.
- (3) Sugaya = Sugata, *i.e.*, Buddhist.
- (4) Keśava = Keśavabhakta, worshipper of Keśava,
i.e., Bhāgavata.
- (5) Sui = Śrutimārgarata, one adhering to the rule
of śruti, *i.e.*, Mīmāṃsaka.

¹ Śākya raktapaṭaḥ.....Ājīvikas caikadaṇḍī.....bhikṣur bhavati saṁnyāsinī jñeyah
.....Vṛiddhaśrāvakah kṛpālī.....carako cakradharah.....Nirgrantho nagnah kṣapaṇa-
kah.....vanyāśanaḥ tapasvī.

² See extract from Utpala's Commentary in Ind. Ant., 1912, p. 287.

³ Bühler's "Barābar and Nāgārjuni hill-cave inscriptions of Aśoka and Daśa-
ratha," J.B.A.S., Vol. XX, p. 362. Cf. J. R. A. S., 1911, p. 960.

- (6) Brahma=Brahmabhakta, worshipper of Brahmā
i.e., Vānaprastha.
- (7) Nagga=Nagna, naked, i.e., Kṣapaṇaka.

Professor D. R. Bhandarkar has rendered a great service by rectifying a fatal error in the interpretation of Utpala's commentary, which led such veteran Sanskritists as Professors Kern and Bühler to suppose that the Ājivikas were the worshippers of Nārāyaṇa, i.e., Bhāgavatas.¹ But now thanks to Prof. Bhandarkar no one doubts that Utpala's meaning was just the contrary. The Ājivikas and the Bhāgavatas furnished him with a typical instance whereby he could illustrate *upalakṣaṇa*, a figure of Rhetoric used in characterising what a word does not denote.

"Ājivikagrahaṇam ca Nārāyaṇāśritānām,"
i.e., to accept one as an Ājivika is not to denote a worshipper of Nārāyaṇa.¹

Thus we see that the Ājivika or Ekadaṇḍin formed a distinct element among the religious sects known to Varāhamihira (circa A.D. 525), the celebrated astronomer who is said to have been one of the nine gems adorning the court of King Vikramāditya of Ujjain, the capital of eastern Malwa and formerly that of Avanti in the Deccan. The Harṣacarita goes to prove that King Harṣa, whose reign in the 7th century A.D. was characterised by eclecticism in popular religion,² brought together the different religious sects and adherents of different schools in his dominion, where he listened to their respective views (svān svān siddhāntāni),³ and the Kumbha-mela taking place at the interval of twelve years is a modern institution which serves the same purpose of bringing together the different sects from the various parts of the

¹ Ind. Ant., 1912, p. 288. Early History of the Vaishnava Sect, p. 116.

² Smith's Early History of India, 3rd edition, p. 345.

³ Harṣacarita, Nirṇaya Sāgara Press edition, VIII, p. 265.

country. These sects and schools in the Harṣacarita included among others :

(1) Maskaris=parivrājakas as the commentary calls them ;

(2) Śvetapaṭas=a sect of the Jainas, distinguished as naked, *i.e.*, Digambaras ;

(3) Pāṇḍus=Bhikṣus ;

(4) Bhāgavatas=the worshippers of Viṣṇu, *i.e.*, Vaiṣṇavas ;

(5) Varṇis=Brahmacāris ;

(6) Keśaluñcanas (?)

(7) Kāpils=Sāṃkhyas ;

(8) Jainas=Buddhists ;

(9) Lokāyatikas=Cārvākas ;

(10) Kāṇādas=Vaiśeṣikas ;

(11) Aupanīśadas=Vedāntins ;

(12) Aiśvarakāraṇikas=Naiyāyikas ;

(13) Karandhas=Hetuvādins ;

(14) Dharmaśāstris=Smṛitijñas ;

(15) Śābdas=Vaiyākaraṇas, grammarians ;

(16) Pancarātras=a division of the Vaiṣṇavas.

There are three points about this list which are of the greatest historical importance :

(a) that the name *maskarī* is used to denote the wanderers in general, a significant fact showing that the Ājivikas did not give up their nomadic habits up till the 7th century A.D., and that in this respect they were not a solitary instance ;

(b) that the commentator uses the term Buddhist as a synonym of the Jaina (Jainair bauddhaiḥ) ; and

(c) that the list includes, among others, the schools of Hindu philosophy, Kāpila, Kāṇāda, etc., whose names can be traced neither in the texts that are pre-Asokan in date, nor in the Brahmanical works that can be dated as pre-Pāṇinian.

As regards the first point, it is important to note that the Amarakoṣa counts the Maskarī among the five classes of samnyāsins,¹ while in Viranandi's Ācārasāra (Śaka 1076) the Ājīvika is distinguished from a *Parivrāt* or wandering mendicant practising very severe austerities,² and in two later Jaina and Buddhist works the *ekadaṇḍin* and the *tridaṇḍin* are enumerated as two divisions of Parivrājakas³ or Paramahamsas who aspired to develop in them the divine faculties through renunciation of all worldly concerns.⁴

With regard to the second point, it may be noticed that it is not a solitary instance where the Jaina⁵ has been confounded with the Buddhist, for there are other cases, where the Ājīvika has been confounded with the Jaina,⁶ and the Buddhist with the Ājīvika.⁷ Indeed, such confusions of sects as these have no meaning in history except as showing that the sects thus confounded the one with the other appeared to have a close kinship between them to the eye of an outsider. Accordingly the meaning of the passage of the Divyāvadāna confounding the Ājīvika with the Jaina is that the two sects living side by side at Puṇḍavardhana differed so slightly from each other, whether in their views or in their outward appearances, that it was difficult for a

¹ Amarakoṣa, VII. 5. 42.

² Ācārasāra, XI. 127: Parivrād...ugracāravānapi. ājivakāḥ. See Pathak's 'Ājīvikas,' Ind. Ant., 1912, p. 89.

³ Mādhavacandra's Commentary on the Triloka-sāra, verse 545: ekadaṇḍi-tridaṇḍi-lakṣaṇāḥ parivrājakāḥ, *Ibid.*, p. 91.

⁴ Sarojavajra's Dohakoṣa: Eka(va) daṇḍi tridaṇḍi bhava veseṇ viṇuā hoṣa haṇṣa nvesaṇ. Advayavajra in his comments on the above says: ekadaṇḍi-tridaṇḍi bhagavaveśam bhavati.....yāvan na paramahamsa-veśam bhavati tāvajj-ñānaṃ na labhyate sarvasannyāsatvāt. See Shastri's Banddha Gān-o-Dohā, pp. 82-84.

⁵ Divyāvadāna, p. 42.

⁶ Commentary on the Ācārasāra, XI. 127: "ājivikāḥ bauddhabhedam", i.e., "the Ājīvika, a division of the Buddhists."

⁷ Kauṭilya, Arthaśāstra, p. 3.

Buddhist observer to draw any sharp distinction between them. Similarly with reference to the passage where the commentator of the *Harṣacarita* identifies the Jaina other than the Śvetāmbara with the Buddhist, the historian is to understand either that his suggestion was based upon hearsay or that he had kept in view some particular sect of the Buddhist faith who closely resembled the Jaina, *e.g.*, the sect of Devadatta that existed in Sāvātthi, as appears from Fa-Hien's account, to the end of the 4th century A.D., and a remnant of whose practices the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang found to be in use at Karnaśuvārṇa in Eastern Bengal¹ in the time of King Harṣavardhana. The followers of Devadatta were not Buddhists in the sense that they did not pay homage to Gotama Buddha, but they must be said to have been Buddhists in the sense that they showed reverence to three previous Buddhas.

As to the third point relating to the schools of Hindu philosophy, the orthodox Hindu who is taught to believe that everything was done for him in a finished form by the Rṣis of old, long before the appearance of two powerful heresies, known as Jainism and Buddhism, will be sorry to be told that the Kautīlya Arthaśāstra is the oldest known Sanskrit text of which the date can be definitely placed either in the 4th or in the 2nd century B.C., and which mentions the Sāṃkhya, the Yoga and the Lokāyata among the typical instances of speculative philosophy (ānvikṣakī).¹ So far as the Buddhist literature is concerned, the *Milinda-Pañho* is the oldest text which includes the Sāṃkhya, the Yoga, the Nīti and the Visēsikā in the list of the various sciences and arts studied by King Menander in the 2nd century B.C.

¹ *Milinda-Pañho*, p. 3.

² Beal's *Records of the Western World*, II. p. 201; Smith's *Early History of India*, 3rd edition, p. 32.

The subsequent history of the Ājīvikas has to be built up from a few stray references to them in literature and epigraphic records, all indicating a process of rapid decay of their religious order, which lingered with varied fortune in different parts of India, particularly in the Deccan proper. Prof. Pathak in his paper on the Ājīvikas has collected some important references from the Digambara Jaina works extant in the Canarese country.¹ In the oldest of them, dated Śaka 1076, the Ājīvikas are represented as a Buddhist denomination, and are said to have been entitled to existence in the heaven called Sahasrāra-kalpa, in contradistinction to the Hindu *Parivrāt*, whose aspiration did not reach beyond the Brahma-world.² In another work belonging to the same age, the Ājīvikas entitled to the immutable state are distinguished similarly from the *Carayas* and the *Parimbajas*.³ In a third work, the *Carakas* are characterised as naked, while the *Ekadandīn* and the *Tridandīn* are enumerated as two main divisions of the *Parivrājakas*.⁴ In the fourth, the Ājīvikas are represented as a Buddhist denomination subsisting on *Kamji*,⁵ while in the fifth [belonging to the 13th century they are distinguished from the Buddhists who were meat-eaters.⁶ From these references Prof. Pathak is led to conclude that "the Ājīvikas were well-known to the Jaina authors of the later Chālukya and Yādava periods as a sect of Buddhist Bhikshus who lived solely or chiefly on *Kamji*."⁷

¹ Ind. Ant., 1912, p. 88 f.

² Viranandi's Ācārasāra, XI. 127 : Parivrāt brahmakalpāntam yātyugracāravānapi, Ājīvikah sahasrārakalpāntam darsanojjhitah.

³ ⁴ Trilokasāra, verse 545 : Carayā ya parimbajā bahmoti, amūda-padoṃ'ti ājīvā.

⁵ Commentary on the Ācārasāra, XI. 127 : Ājīvakah bauddhabhedam appakamji bhikṣu. Cf. Padmaprabha's Traividya (Circa., 1400 A.D.) : Ājīvā ambila-kūlan umbaru.

⁶ Buddhist argument in favour of meat-eating is said to be :—

Pātre patitam pavitram suktrōktaṃ idemdu bauddhar adagaṃ timbaru. See Māghanandi's Śrāvākācāra.

⁷ Ind. Ant., 1912, p. 90.

A few inscriptions have been found in Madras Presidency belonging to the first half of the 13th century, which record that a kind of poll-tax was imposed on the Ājivikas.¹ The reasons for imposition of this tax are nowhere stated, but the reactionary measure thus adopted by the Hindu rulers of South India was certainly not without its effect on the career of the Ājivikas; probably it served to check the further progress of the Ājivika movement or to compel the Ājivikas by external pressure to merge their identity in the Shivaite and other orders of Hindu ascetics.

Thus the post-Makkhali history of the Ājivikas ranging over twenty centuries is to be conceived as a long and intricate process of religious development in the country which led ultimately to the extinction of the sect. The foregoing investigation has shown that the Ājivika movement which commenced in the 7th or the 8th century B. C., somewhere near the Gangetic valley, and was confined at first to the tract of land between Campā and Benares, gradually extended to Sāvātthi. Within a few centuries of Gosāla's death this movement crossed at many points the territorial limits of the Middle country. Gayā and Puṇḍavardhana were two important centres of the Ājivika activity in the time of King Asoka. At the time when the Jaina Bhagavati Sūtra was compiled their influence was diffused over the whole of Northern India from the Bay of Bengal to the Gulf of Cutch. Towards the close of the Maurya rule the Bactrian city of Sāgala in the Punjab became a centre of liberal movements, while the kingdom of Avanti in the Deccan in its earlier territorial extension long remained an important scene of the Ājivika propaganda. The centre of gravity shifted after Harṣa to

¹ Hultzsh's South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. I, pp. 88, 89, 92 and 108. Cf. Ind. Ant., 1912, p. 288.

the Deccan proper, where, especially in the Canarese country, they encountered many reverses of fortune till they finally disappeared in the fourteenth century of the Christian era. The pathetic story of maltreatment of the Ājīvikas and other ascetics in Rāḍha by its rude inhabitants need not be recounted. Similar experiences of the hermits of the Vānaprastha order in other non-Aryan tracts are recorded in the Araṇyakāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa and several stories of the Jātaka. This naturally suggests a most fruitful enquiry as to the part they played in the annals of Aryan colonisation and propagation of Aryan culture, followed everywhere by non-Aryan reaction, and modified by the race-cult and national characteristics which it absorbed. Moreover, in carrying on the study of the post-Makkhali history of the Ājīvikas, the historian cannot but set himself to analyse the causes of the decline of the Ājīvika faith, and it is certain that such an enquiry cannot be undertaken apart from the development of various religious movements and schools of philosophy which went to rob the Ājīvika movement of its especiality. The simultaneous processes of absorption and assimilation which seem so largely accountable for the disappearance of the Ājīvikas involve two questions of far-reaching importance, which are :

(1) Where are the Ājīvikas who maintained their existence among the rival sects up till the fourteenth century A. D., if not later ?

(2) Is it that the Ajivika system dwindled into insignificance without enriching the systems which supplanted and supplemented it ?

Finally, if it be admitted that truth never dies and that the Ājīvikas had a distinct message for Indian peoples, the history of the Ājīvikas cannot be concluded without a general reflection on the course of Indian history, nor

can the historian discharge his true function as historian without determining the place of the Ājivikas in the general scheme of Indian history as a whole.

Romic Calendrical Beginnings

H. BRUCE HANNAH.

Originally, as a tradition derived from the days when Primitive Blond Humanity dwelt in Arctic Regions at or around the North Pole, and there, in their several Zones, were either eye-witnesses of the glorious phenomenon of the 30-Dawns, or else became acquainted with it from hearsay, the artificial Calendrical Spheroid representing the Natural Year was conventionally divided into 360 degrees—the conception obviously arising from the 30-Dawns multiplied by 6 (the 6 months of the long Polar Day) = 180; this being then regarded as duplicated for the long Night = 360: which thus represented the Dawns, as it were multiplied by 12—the number of the months as ultimately recognised by Rosy-Blond Humanity in the Temperate Zone.

Long afterwards, in Khem, or Tomeri, whatever calendrical reforms were from time to time adopted by the ancient Romiū (one of the ethnic groups descended, or culturally inheriting, from the original migrants from the Arctic North), this 360-degrees Spheroid remained in a manner persistently basic, even when the Year was discovered to be really longer, *i.e.*, equating with a Spheroid of about $365\frac{1}{4}$ degrees—the difference of about $5\frac{1}{4}$ degrees or days being provided for by *additional* calendrical ingenuities which did not disturb the popular old-established sequence of festivals and other functions.

The first traceable method of Time-Measurement was Sidereal, the Beginning of the Year being calendrically taken as the moment when some selected point in the sweep of the stellar environment, *e.g.*, the conventionally recognised asterism first seen in Terrestrial Spring (Vasanta), came exactly round again, and the construction of the Calendar, as a record of the correct dates for the observance of all religious festivals and other functions, depending upon the positions of the Stars, as these positions steadily and, as was thought, unfailingly, recurred throughout the Year, and year after year: for the Stars ceaselessly revolved in their courses round the Celestial Sphere with the turning of the Kosmical Axis, which pivoted, as it were, on the Pole-Star (originally believed to be eternally fixed) at the North Pole, where, canopied in majesty, Ptāh, the Father of the Gods, Architect of the Universe, and Fire-God (Lat. *Vulcanus*; Gr. *Hephaistos*) was said to have had his "Drill" and his Throne. This may be called the Polar-Clock method: the Sun being then deemed a mere fire, mysteriously resulting from the remote but all-dominant, because creative, preservative, and destructive operations of Ptāh's Drill.

I do not mean to say that in the so-called Ptāh Age, for the ancient Romiū, the Year opened calendrically in the Spring: for it did not. The point on the Spheroid most naturally associable with the calendrical opening *is*, of course, Spring, with the Sun floating seemingly between what we call Constellations Ariēs and Piscēs, which side of the diagram (the right-hand side, as we are familiar with it) is therefore correctly describable as the Celestial Vernal Equinox, though it is in conjunction with Terrestrial Autumn on the small inner revolving Spheroid or Epicycle. Indeed, so natural is this that, as an arbitrary point from which to start, as from a fixed base, for purposes of astronomical and chronological

calculations, it has become universally customary to take the first degree of Constellation Ariēs (Eng. *Ram*; Ind. *Rāsi Mesha*; Egyp. or Rom. say *Amon*; Bab. & Assyr. *Sara Ziggār*, or *Bar Ziggār*) as the starting-point of time, *i.e.*, as *zero* of any cycle—using the first point of Sign Ariēs on the Epicycle as an Index-Finger, or Clock-hand. Various attempts have been made to account for the origin of this fixed convention: but I suggest that it is probably traceable to a general and deeply impressed reminiscence amongst the descendants, or at least the cultural heirs, of that original Blond Humanity who once dwelt at and around the North Pole, of the fact that, at and near the Pole, Spring was the season at which the Sun of the long-continuous-day always made its first appearance for the year in the heavens wherein it afterwards circled overhead so wondrously (*The Arctic Home in the Vedas*, by Bāl Gangadhar Tilak, p. 48); as, of course, is the case still.

Nevertheless, when Blond Humanity had abandoned that glorious old Boreal Home, and, in a scattered state, dwelt under other skies and amid quite different conditions, artificial ideas grew up in this connection: for certain it is that, during different eras, in those temperate and other Zones whereto Boreal Humanity eventually migrated, the Year was conventionally regarded as opening calendrically, sometimes at one or other of the Solstices, and sometimes at one or other of the Equinoxes.

For instance, as is readily understandable of a Fire-God, such as the early Romiū conceived Ptāh to have been, his principal festival was, not unsuitably—indeed, we may say that it was inevitably—celebrated at what they regarded as “the Place of the Production of Fire,” the point where the Goddess whom they called Sekhet, “loved of Ptāh,” was the presiding divinity, and which the ancient inhabitants of the Tigro-Euphratēs country

designated *Āb āb-gar*, "Fire that makes fire" = Terrestrial Midsummer, *i.e.*, zodiacally the Celestial Summer Solstice, still conventionally supposed to be between Constellations Cancer and Gemini, but actually now somewhere about the 30th degree of Constellation Taurus.

But, with the changes in the individuality and position of the Pole-Star (1 degree every $71 \frac{57}{60}$ years, or perhaps $71 \frac{143}{167}$ years—a shift which is said to have happened 7 times, as observed by the Romiū), the Polar-Clock became deranged, Itāh's Throne was displaced, the Solstitial Fire side-stepped 7 degrees, and the Sidereal Time-system, whereby the calendrical dates were supposed to chime in with the recurring positions of what in Indian astronomy are called *Mandalas* and *Nakshatras*, and incidentally also with the seasons, was rejected in favour of a reformed Calendar associated with the new name of Rā, the Sun-God—by then no longer regarded as a merely derivative and local centre of incandescence, but as an independent Celestial Orb, a self-subsistent, Universal Sovereign. The proper sequence of festivals and other functions thereupon became dependent, no longer on the Stars, but on the observed positions of the Sun as he appeared to stage round the Ecliptic, *i.e.*, the Calendar was related, no longer primarily to *Mandalas* and *Nakshatras*, but to the seasons experienced by Earth as she journeyed along her orbit round the Sun.

As the natural Year has in fact 365 days, 5 hours, 48 minutes, 48 seconds, according to our reckoning, or 365 days, 5 hours, 52 minutes, 8.4 seconds, by Indian reckoning, this Solar Time-system proved as unworkable as its predecessor, because, still on a conventional 360 degrees basis, with no thought then of any necessity for supplementing it, as was done later, it was short of reality by the $5\frac{1}{4}$ days (or thereabouts) just mentioned.

In other words, it took $5\frac{1}{4}$ days longer than true time to reach its goal. New Year's Day, each of the Equinoxes and Solstices, and the annual Rising of Sirius (Sōthis, the Dog-Star), seemed to occur increasingly too soon with every complete annual revolution, as compared with their respective calendar-dates. Thus, on the Calendar, each was announced $5\frac{1}{4}$ days after the event itself, in the first revolution; $10\frac{1}{2}$ days afterwards, in the second; $15\frac{3}{4}$ days afterwards, in the third; and so on—each such calendrical announcement progressing steadily at that rate round the fixed months, and only returning to its original starting-point (calendrical date coinciding again with actual occurrence = small inner revolving Epicycle equating once more with fixed outer Zodiacal Spheroid) after a Cycle of $68\frac{4}{7}$ years ($360 \div 5\frac{1}{4}$), or perhaps more strictly $69\frac{4}{7}$ years. In *Creation Records*, at p. 214, George St. Clair gives this as 72, or more strictly 73 years, *i.e.*, basing on a 5 days' shortage, instead of one of $5\frac{1}{4}$ days ($360 \div 5$). Evidently he assumes that the Romiū did not then know the true length of the Natural Year, but took it at 365 days or degrees; as is indeed gatherable from the legend describing the irregular origin of the so-called "Brood of Seb," and also from Plutarch's account of the allegory in which Hermēs (Thoth) is represented as playing at counters with Selēnē (the Moon-Goddess), winning 1 of each of her lunations, and thereout compounding the required 5 days. Nevertheless, instead of either $69\frac{4}{7}$ years, or 72 years, the correct figure is probably $71\frac{71}{90}$ years (perhaps more exactly $71\frac{143}{180}$ years), *i.e.*, the same as the above-mentioned period during which the changing Pole-Star traverses 1 degree of its little circum-polar orbit.

Thus, when the Romic Cycle (either in the Ptāh Age, or in that of the First Reign of Rā) was half-way through, *i.e.*, in $36\frac{1}{2}$ years, according to St. Clair and

Plutarch, or in say $71\frac{7}{10} \div 2 = 37\frac{7}{10}$ years, if we relate it to its true source, Precession, events that really occurred say in Terrestrial Spring, occurred by the conventional Calendar in nominal Autumn; events that occurred say in Terrestrial Summer, occurred by the Calendar in Winter; and *vice versâ*. In other words, the real Celestial Vernal Equinox fell calendrically on the very opposite side of the Spheroid, at what was there marked Celestial Autumnal Equinox; the real Celestial Summer Solstice fell calendrically at the Celestial Winter Solstice; and *vice versâ*. The Calendar thus proved false. Rā, as then conceived, was as untrustworthy as Ptāh.

By then, too, *i.e.*, the end of the first $37\frac{7}{10}$ years in the Ptāh régime—though the Romiū do not seem to have realised that the changes were all one big kosmic movement, now designated Precession—the Pole-Star and each of the Equinoxes and Solstices, and also, of course, events like the annual Rising of Sirius, would have side-stepped $\frac{1}{2}$ a degree. In a complete Cycle this shift would have been 1 whole degree; and in 7 such Cycles, or $502\frac{89}{100}$ years, it would have amounted to 7 degrees.

Whatever they were called in the Ptāh-Age, these 7 side-steps, or shifts, or 7 successive positions of the Equinoxes, Solstices, and Risings, were, in dynastic times (as regards the Equinoxes and Solstices), called allegorically the Seven Hāthōrs, or Eyes of the Sun.

Thus, for the Romiū, with their conventional Spheroid of 360 degrees or days, the Ptāh Age could not have lasted more than about $37\frac{7}{10}$ years before their Time-System went wrong in fact. Nevertheless, they do not seem to have realised it, *i.e.*, actually and practically in the sense of reforming it, till it had thus gone wrong as many as 7 times, *i.e.*, till the Celestial Solstice, at which

their Calendrical Year began, had been displaced 7 times, or moved on 7 degrees.

With the shift into the 8th degree, or position, that position was not designated the Eighth Hāthōr, as it very well might have been, but it was declared instead that there the Sun-God Rā had been born, thus inaugurating an entirely New Order. This, then, was the beginning of what is called the First Reign of Rā,—his first appearance, when Shū (Gr. *Atlas*) “raised the sky,” or “uplifted the heavens,” from the height of the Celestial City called Khemennū (Gr. *Hermopolis*), where he “destroyed the Children of Failure”—the preceding 7 positions of the Equinox.

“I am he,” said Rā, “who closeth, and he who openeth ; and I am but One :

I am Rā at his first appearance : I am the Great God, self-produced.” (*Book of the Dead*, Chapter XVII.)

This epoch terminated a period of $502\frac{8}{9}$ years + another $71\frac{7}{10}$ years = in all $574\frac{7}{10}$ years, which had elapsed from the outset, *i.e.*, from the beginning of the Ptāh Age, not in itself as a possible stretch of time, but as a *régime* recognised in Khem.

We are now confronted with the question : Is it possible to identify and fix these two ancient *régimes* (the Ptāh *régime*, and the First Reign of Rā), or either of them, in terms of our own chronological system ?

The answer is—Yes, if we can put them, or either of them, on the artificial Spheroid or Cycle which we call the Zōdiac : for in that Zōdiac we possess a lock which enables us to tell the time for about 25, 868 years back—the period ($2155\frac{2}{3} \times 12$) in which Precession achieves one complete round of the successive shifts that are ceaselessly in progress at the Pole and elsewhere, as above alluded to.

A circle, of course, has really no beginning and no end : but we are at liberty to assume some selected point on it, and to regard that conventionally as a basis from which to start. Thus, with the Zōdiac, it is customary to take the beginning of the first degree of Constellation Ariēs (Bab. and Assyr. *Sara Ziggār*, or *Bar Ziggār*; Ind. *Rāsi Mesha* ; Romie probably *Mes-Rā*) as *zero*, and to distribute the 25, 868 years round the Constellations from that as a commencement, using the first point of Sign Ariēs, on the small inner revolving Epicycle, as an Index-Finger.

When the Zōdiac was invented, and who first arranged its 12 divisions in their present order, has been much discussed : but apparently, up to date, without arriving at any very definite, or at least satisfactory, conclusion. The divisional names, as we are familiar with them, come to us from the Greeks, and they got them from the Egyptians, say of the 9th and 8th centuries B.C. How the more ancient Romiū referred to them, is somewhat obscure. We only get glimpses. Indian astronomers have their own names for them, and arrange them in the same order as we do. Under quite other names, but often bearing much the same signification as we attach to them, the Babylonians and Assyrians were certainly intimately acquainted with them, and also appear to have represented them in the same order as that still in vogue. Indeed, we may say that in different ages and amongst all historical nations, the Zōdiac has been known in practically its present form, though in association with names peculiar to each distinct civilisation, from the very beginning of recorded time.

As now arranged, the 12 divisions are immutable in relation to each other ; and apparently this has always and everywhere been the case : but the Index-Finger (the first point of Sign Ariēs), marking directly the Celestial

Vernal Equinox, and therewith conventionally the Opening of the Year at the commencement of Spring (and indirectly all other points of the Cycle), moves ceaselessly round the Clock at the same rate of progress as that which characterises the above-mentioned shifts at the Pole, namely, 1 degree of each Constellation, or 12th division, in every $71\frac{7}{10}$ years, and 1 whole Constellation, or 12th part of the Cycle, in every $2155\frac{2}{3}$ years.

Now, one of the 12 divisions is known to us as Leo: and from Romic records we learn that in connection with Romic ideas regarding the Ptāh-*régime*, as a time-system actually in vogue in Khem, that particular division or point was looked upon as indicating the place of the Celestial Summer Solstice, and with it, as presiding divinity, was associated the Goddess Sekhet, the beloved consort of Ptāh—usually represented as a lion-headed woman. This means that the Celestial Vernal Equinox was then in Taurus—which indicates an extreme time-limit of *circa* B.C. 4459 $\frac{2}{3}$ for the commencement of what is called the Ptāh Age, or rather the Ptāh-*régime*, as actually in vogue in Khem. This is based on the assumption that Jesus Christ was born when the Celestial Vernal Equinox was at about the 28th degree of Piscēs.

We cannot, of course, conclude that *circa* B.C. 4459 $\frac{2}{3}$ was the epoch of the beginning of the time when the Pole-Star was shifting, in association with the name of Ptāh, at the rate of 1 degree in every $71\frac{7}{10}$ years; for in reality that obscure movement (which also controls the movements of the Equinoxes, Solstices, Risings, etc.) has no beginning and no end, just as we have already noticed that a circle has no beginning and no end. All we can say is that, for the Romiū, the Ptāh-*régime* seems to have begun at that epoch.

This reasoning, if sound, is certainly very satisfactory; for it presents us with a fixed basis whereon to build up our chronological calculation.

If, then, we assume—as now appears to be quite legitimate—that in *circa* B.C. 4459 $\frac{8}{5}$ the Celestial Summer Solstice was just entering the 30th degree of Constellation Leo (by the Romiū associated with lion-headed Sekhet), it follows that the shifted Solstice had got to say the 22nd degree of Leo—since that would have been the 8th remove from the outset. Therefore the Celestial Autumnal Equinox must have reached say the 22nd degree of Constellation Scorpio (Bab. and Assyr. *Apin am-a*, “Bull-like Founder”; Ind. *Rāsi Frischika*). Therefore also the Celestial Vernal Equinox must have been at say the 22nd degree of Constellation Taurus (Bab. and Assyr. *Khar-sidi*; Ind. *Rāsi Frishabha*; Rom. perhaps *Mes-Rā*). This indicates that the epoch of the last observed shift was *circa* B.C. 3885 $\frac{4}{5}$.

Let us, then, assume for the present, as a working-hypothesis, that B.C. 3885 $\frac{4}{5}$ was the date of the beginning of the Time-*régime* known as the First Reign of Rā.

We have now to ascertain definitely, if we can, the Terrestrial season of the year, and therefore the corresponding Celestial point on the Zōdiacal Spheroid, when and where the Eighth Hāthōr, had she not been metamorphosed, would have sustained her *rôle* as the Eye of the Sun: for it was at that point that new-born Rā is supposed to have opened his year calendrically.

St. Clair works it out thus. He recalls that the “Egyptian” year began calendrically at Midsummer, and tells us that the 3rd month from there was designated Athyr. Then he resorts to the astronomical ceiling in the Rāmēsēum at El-Kūrneh in Thebes, erected by Rāmēsēs II; and there he finds that Hāthōr is set down against the month Athyr.

"At that season," he proceeds, "the sun was passing through Scorpio, as remarked by Plutarch. The fourth month was Khoiak, and in a calendar, of the date 1200 B. C., we find the insertion, '1st Koiak, Feast of Hathor.' This corresponds to the autumnal equinox" (*Creation Records*, p. 121).

Whether we can legitimately argue from calendrical arrangements then to calendrical arrangements in the Reign of Ptāh, is open to question. Also, I do not see how the Sun can be spoken of as in Scorpio in Rāmēsēs II's time, which I place at B. C. $1269\frac{335}{480}$ - $1201\frac{346}{480}$. Moreover, it is in connection particularly with the Reign of Osiris that Plutarch refers to the Sun as in Scorpio; and we have not yet come to a consideration of that Luni-Solar Age. In Rāmēsēs II's time the Celestial Vernal Equinox must have lain somewhere about the middle of Constellation Ariēs (Bab. & Assyr. *Sara Ziggār*, or *Bar Ziggār*; Ind. *Rāsi Mesha*; Rom. perhaps *Amon*); and Athyr, as the 3rd month from Terrestrial Midsummer, must have pointed across the diagram to somewhere in Constellation Virgo (Bab. & Assyr. *Ki gingir-na*, "Errand of Istar"; Ind. *Rāsi Kanya*).

However, putting these personal difficulties aside, as perhaps traceable to some misreading or misunderstanding, let us try to get at our objective another way. We know that during the Reign of Ptāh the Year opened calendrically at the same Terrestrial Midsummer as aforesaid, which, on the diagram, is in conjunction with the point between Constellations Aquarius and Piscēs (*Rāsis Kūmbha* and *Mina*). The Celestial Summer Solstice which corresponded to this on the opposite side of the diagram, would have been just entering the 30th degree of Constellation Leo (Bab. & Assyr. *Āb āb-gar*, "Fire that makes fire"; Ind. *Rāsi Sinha*; Rom. *Sekhet* "the Place of Production of Fire"). At least we may assume that to have been its position at the beginning of

the Ptāh-*régime*. The Celestial Vernal Equinox was therefore just entering the 30th degree of Constellation Taurus. Hence, the Celestial Autumnal Equinox was just entering the 30th degree of Constellation Scorpio (*Rāsi Vrischika*) from Sagittarius (Bab. & Assy. *Gan-gan-na*, "Very Cloudy"; Ind. *Rāsi Dhanūs*). All these points, as we have seen, eventually shifted 8 degrees; which means that, at the close of the Era, the Celestial Vernal Equinox was just entering say the 22nd degree of Taurus=*circa* B. C. 3885 $\frac{4}{10}$ aforesaid.

If, now, we assume for purposes of argument that the same months and sequence of months for the Calendar as those used in the days of Rāmēsēs II were also in vogue in the Ptāh Age, then, going to the diagram, we find that Athyr, the 3rd month from Terrestrial Midsummer, falls exactly opposite Constellation Scorpio. In other words, at the season of Athyr, in the Ptāh Age, the Sun *would* have apparently been in that Constellation, which then, from the 30th to the 22nd degrees, marked the shifting Celestial *Autumnal* Equinox.

In this fact, perchance, we even hit upon the reason why Rā is said to have been born there, and why that point (say somewhere about the 22nd degree of Scorpio) was adopted conventionally as the Calendrical Opening-point of the Year throughout the *régime* known as the First Reign of Rā.

Now, it has to be remembered that, though Rā had succeeded Ptāh, no alteration whatever was made in the divisional nature of the conventional Spheroid which was supposed to represent the Natural Year. That was still considered to consist properly of only 360 degrees, as had been the basic hypothesis under the old discarded *régime* of Ptāh.

It follows that, even under the new Rā-*régime*, the Calendrical Cycle was still one of 71 $\frac{7}{10}$ years; and

therefore that, when this was half-way through, *i.e.*, after the lapse of a similar period of $37\frac{7}{180}$ years, all the points of the Spheroid would again have fallen into disorder—the Calendar, as compared with the true seasons of the Natural Year, would have become completely reversed. In other words, the Rā Calendar was bound to turn out just as false as the Ptāh Calendar had proved—and this in the very same way, and for the very same reason. That reason was that Precession still went on—Pole-Star, Equinoxes, Solstices, and annual Risings of Sirius, all continued as usual to side-step 1 degree in every $71\frac{7}{90}$ years. When this was realised and acted upon, there naturally took place another reform. By that time, however, calendrical Midsummer was falling in actual Winter, and Scorpio (the place of the real Celestial *Autumnal* Equinox) was indicated calendrically as the Celestial *Vernal* Equinox. Hence, too, Taurus (really the place of the Celestial Vernal Equinox) was indicated calendrically as the place of the Celestial *Autumnal* Equinox.

Thereupon, what happened seems to have been this. For calendrical purposes the Romiū went on as usual taking this *false* Autumnal Equinox at Taurus as the conventional Opening-point of their Year: but inasmuch as it was in fact the place of the true Celestial Vernal Equinox, Osiris (the God whose name is associated with this new *régime*) became known as the God of the Celestial *Vernal* Equinox.

This brings us to Plutarch's story of Typhon's (Set's) intrigues against Osiris, assisted by 72 other conspirators, and of Osiris's eventual death at their hands—a tragedy which is said to have happened on the 17th day of the month of Athyr aforesaid, when the Sun was passing through Constellation Scorpio; Osiris, it is added, being then in the 28th year of his reign.

Osiris, of course, stands for a changed order—having been the deified personification of a new form of the Calendrical Year, which then became Luni-Solar, being made up of 13 lunar divisions, or months, of 28 days each. Such a Year would still, however, have been $1\frac{1}{4}$ days short of the true Natural Year of about $365\frac{1}{4}$ days. Hence, kosmical occurrences, *e.g.*, the annual Rising of Sirius, took place $1\frac{1}{4}$ days too soon in the first revolution; $2\frac{1}{2}$ days too soon in the second; and so on—New Year's Day and other festivals, and the dates say of Risings, as calendrically recorded or announced, progressing round the fixed months, and not returning to their original positions, with reference to the outer Spheroid representing kosmical actuality, till after a Cycle of $291\frac{1}{5}$ years ($364 \div 1\frac{1}{4}$), or perhaps more strictly $292\frac{1}{5}$ years.

The Calendar based on such a Year was bound in time to result in confusion, just as its predecessors had done. In the Reign of Ptāh and the First Reign of Rā the seasons, as calendrically announced, had been exactly reversed after $37\frac{7}{180}$ years, *i.e.*, half of their common Cycle of $71\frac{7}{90}$ years. Under this new Osiris *régime*, a like reversal would not have occurred till after the lapse of $146\frac{1}{10}$ years, *i.e.*, till the above-mentioned Cycle of $292\frac{1}{5}$ years had progressed half-way through its course. Then, however, the contradictions and confusions between the seasons as they actually came round, and as they were announced calendrically, would have been as complete and scandalous as those which had put an end to the Reign of Ptāh and the First Reign of Rā. Nevertheless, it was by no means necessary for the *whole* of that period of $146\frac{1}{10}$ years to expire before the Romiū realised what was going on. As $146\frac{1}{10}$ years take us through one moiety (*i.e.*, $6\frac{1}{2}$ divisions) of the then diagrammatic Spheroid of 13 divisions, or months, and would

therefore have resulted in a complete reversal of the normal relations between the real and the calendrical seasons, a one $6\frac{1}{2}$ th of that moiety, *i.e.*, $22\frac{1}{2}$ years, would have displaced the seasons in relation to the Calendar by one entire Osirian month. This would certainly have sufficed to reveal the growing confusion to the Romiū. In fact, however, they allowed as much as 27 years, 2 months (Thoth and Paophi), 17 days (of Athyr) to elapse before resolving on a calendrical reconstruction. At least, that is what we are practically told by Plutarch, judging from his statement that Osiris was slain on 17th Athyr in his 28th regnal year by Typhon—a personification of the obscure Precession movement—assisted by 72 accomplices—obviously an allegorical equivalent for the conventional old cycle of $71\frac{7}{10}$ years above alluded to. On the basis of a Year of 364 days (13 months of 28 days each), 27 years, 2 months, 17 days = $27\frac{73}{364}$ years, or an excess of $4\frac{1}{2}\frac{2771}{3680}$ years over the $22\frac{1}{2}$ years. That is practically $4\frac{1}{2}$ years longer than $22\frac{1}{2}$ years = say $\frac{1}{5}$ th longer. $\frac{1}{5}$ th of an Osirian month would be 5 or 6 days. Hence, the displacement allowed by the Romiū must have been about 1 month and 5 or 6 days = between 33 and 34 days.

Now, we have assumed above, as a working-hypothesis, that the First Reign of Rā began *circa* B.C. 3885 $\frac{4}{10}$. We have also seen reason to conclude that the Romiū put an end to that *régime* after the lapse of about $37\frac{7}{180}$ years. That brings us down to *circa* B.C. 3848 $\frac{1}{180}$, as the epoch of the beginning of the Reign of Osiris. A further 28 years reduces this to *circa* B.C. 3820 $\frac{1}{180}$, as the epoch of the opening of the next traditional *régime*—that of the Second Reign of the SunGod Rā.

On this occasion, we are informed, 1 full day was added, thus using up the last of Thoth's winnings from Selēnē, and making the Year or Spheroid one of 365

days or degrees—the observance of festivals and other functions depending once more on the successive positions of the Sun alone. Accordingly, this *régime* was regarded as a reversion to the sovereignty of Rā, but was called his Second Reign.

Even then, however, as a fact, the artificial Year was still $\frac{1}{4}$ of a day (or thereabouts) short of the true Natural Year. In the first revolution, festivals, supposed to be seasonal, and kosmical occurrences such as the Rising of Sirius, came round (true to Nature) $\frac{1}{4}$ of a day sooner than the date for each given in the Calendar. In the second revolution the Calendar was in each case $\frac{1}{2}$ a day late. With 4 annual revolutions the original $\frac{1}{4}$ day short had, of course, grown into 1 whole day; and so on—Calendar-time thus progressing round the fixed months, and only returning to normal (as harmonising with kosmical events and seasons, and equating again with the outer Spheroid) after the lapse of a Cycle of 1460 years (365×4).

In the words of St. Clair—

“When the year of 365 days was established, it was probably imagined that finality was reached. But it would not be long before the odd six hours forced themselves into recognition.

With their perfectly oriented temples, the Egyptians must soon have found that their festival at the summer solstice—which festival is known all over the world—did not fall precisely on the same day of the new year, because if 365 days had exactly measured the year, that flash of bright sunlight would have fallen into the sanctuary just as it did 365 days before. But what they must have found was that after an interval of 4 years” (or as I prefer to put it, $4\frac{1}{4}$ Spheroidal sub-divisions), “it did not fall on the first day of the month, but on the day following it.

"In like manner and from the same cause, the heliacal rising of the Dog-star, which had heralded the rising of the Nile on the first day of Thoth" (This, I submit, was a calendrical convention used exclusively by the priests in post-Menic times, and probably late in them), "would, after four years, announce it on the second day of the month, and after eight years on the third day. Unless intercalary days were inserted, the star would go through all the months of the calendar, and return to the first day of Thoth after 1460 years ($365 \times 4 = 1460$; 1460 years of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days = 1461 years of 365 days).

"The year of 365 days was called the vague year, or the wandering year; and though the priests knew it to be inexact, they would not allow it to be altered by any system of leap years."

* * * * *

"Possibly their desire was simply to avoid confusion in the keeping of the feasts" (*Creation Records*, pp. 12, 13).

Thus (*circa* B.C. 3820 $\frac{1}{180}$) would seem to have originated the so-called Sōthic Cycle—but only in its first, and, as we shall realise in a moment, its imperfect form.

A stretch of 730 years of this *régime*—i.e., a moiety of its cycle of 1460 years—carries us half-way round the Spheroid. In like manner, therefore, as with the 146 $\frac{1}{10}$ years of the immediately preceding *régime*, that period would have resulted in a complete reversal of the conventional Calendar in relation to the actual seasons. But again, just as before, the *whole* 730 years were not really required for the purpose of enlightening the Romiū as to the approach of this eventuality. In that $\frac{1}{2}$ -stretch of the Spheroid there were 6 divisions, representing, from one point of view, 6 months of the year. $730 \div 6 = 121\frac{2}{3}$.

—the equivalent of what the Romiū called a *Huntī*, or *Henṭī*, *Heb*-Period, or Period of a Quadruple Festival = 4 *Sed-Heb* Periods of $30\frac{5}{12}$ years each. Hence, $121\frac{2}{3}$ years sufficed to displace the seasons quite obviously by one entire month.

On the basis of this form of the Year—a Year of 365 days or degrees—I tried once to interpret Romic History in Dynastic times (as obtained from the monuments, etc.) in terms of our own modern chronology. The results, however, which are now in the archives of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, whose authorities kindly consented to preserve them, were unsatisfactory, for the simple reason that, for a correct interpretation, it was necessary to put the data so obtained on a Cycle that equated with reality (the reality of the true Natural Year). Such a Cycle would have been one of 1461 Years, with its own *Sed* and *Huntī Hebs*. But with a Year of 365 days, I could only put those data on a Cycle of 1460 Years—and naturally on that basis calculations did not work out properly. The only data which would have suited such a Cycle would have been data coming down to us from say the pre-dynastical Hor-Shesū Age—but unfortunately we possess none of these.

Our last date—that of the opening of the Second Reign of Rā—was *circa* B.C. $3820\frac{1}{180}$. $121\frac{2}{3}$ years subtracted, leaves us with B.C. $3698\frac{61}{180}$, as the approximate epoch at which this second Reign of Rā came to an end, so far as it was a time-system practically in vogue amongst the Romiū. The Celestial Vernal Equinox was then in 20 Constellation Taurus.

Possibly, therefore, it was then—B.C. $3698\frac{61}{180}$ —that the final discovery was made that the true Year and the true Spheroid consisted, not of 360, nor of 364, nor even of 365, days or degrees, but of about $365\frac{1}{4}$, or 365.242, days or degrees, *i.e.*, say 365 days 5 hours,

and either 48 minutes, 48 seconds, or 52 minutes, 8.4 seconds.

This recondite truth (as it was then) is associated with the name of the Younger Horus, or the Child Horus (*Hor-pe-khroti*)—often, by the intellectually acute and artistic Greeks, represented with his index-finger held to his lip, and therefore (*pace* Prof. Flinders Petrie), appropriately styled “the God of Silence,” who, however, found his voice when mature. As in some obscure way merging into the Elder Horus of an earlier Age, he was regarded as the conqueror of Typhon, or Set—the personification of the practically beginningless Age during which the various old successive attempts at time-measurement (associated with the subtle effects of Precession) had been in vogue. Thus the birth and accession of Horus really represent the triumph of the Calendrical Year in its true form of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days over all the older imperfect forms which gradually led up to that. How far Typhon, or Set, may be identified with Greek *Kronos*, or Latin *Saturn*, and Horus with Greek *Zeus*, Latin *Jupiter*, Melanochroic *Ab-El* (“*Father El*”), or *Older Bel* and *Younger Bel*, Babylonian and Assyrian *Mardūk*, and Vedic Indian *Dyaush-Pitā*—are all subjects for future consideration.

With the recognition of this $365\frac{1}{4}$ -degrees form of the Year we are brought down to the last reform of all, whence really emerged the so-called Sōthic Cycle in that completed sense which I have tried to expound in my pamphlet on *Ancient Romic Chronology*, *i.e.*, as a cycle, not of 1460, but of 1461 Years, subdivided into *Huntī-Heb* periods of $121\frac{3}{4}$ (instead of $121\frac{2}{3}$) years each, *Sed-Heb* periods of $30\frac{7}{18}$ (instead of $30\frac{5}{12}$) years each, and Sōthic-Rising periods of $4\frac{28}{180}$ (instead of $4\frac{1}{18}$) are each—all spheroidal.

I do not say that this was the way that the dynastic Romic actually worked it: for it was not. It is only a

way in which I suggest, and have shown, that—given, of course, the data from the monuments, etc.,—it is now satisfactorily workable for the purpose of interpreting those data in terms of our own chronological and calendrical system.

What the Romiū did in practice was this. They were wisely resolved not to disturb the orderly and impressive succession of age-long established festivals and functions, founded on the earlier conceptions of the form of the Year. That would have been highly inconvenient and unpopular; as these traditional observances were too deeply rooted in the understandings, customs, and affections of the masses to be torn up and rejected. Therefore (at least at the back of their heads) the priests and officials retained these cherished conceptions—even the idea of the year as consisting of only 360 days or degrees—and whatever else was necessary they from time to time built upon, or wove into, that basic idea and other conceptions, in the guise of divers ingenious manipulations of a supplementary nature—thus providing for the new, while not in any obvious way discarding the old. Eventually the whole was elaborately allegorised, and, as it were, intellectually objectivised—nay, for some, it was even spiritualised—in the shape of that wondrously complex and profound blend of Religious Faith, Worship, Mythology and *Tamāsha*, which is so complacently yet so superficially regarded by us moderns as little but a grossly and childish idolatrous expression of systematised thērianthropic absurdities.

This true form of the Year—as consisting of about $365\frac{1}{4}$ days or degrees—was certainly known in the days of the builder of the Great Pyramid at Gizeh, whoever he was, and whenever that may have been. He is commonly believed to have been Khūfū, of the so-called 4th Dynasty; but his actual identity, and the

period to which he is really assignable, are exceedingly doubtful. Not impossibly the builder of the structure referred to was Pepi (Phiops) II, of the so-called 6th Dynasty—a celebrity whose unusually long regnal period I place at B.C. 2246 $\frac{377}{480}$ —2156 $\frac{234}{480}$; for there is at least some reason to believe that the name *Cheops* is an artificiality—nothing but a sort of archæological spook—merely a muddled etymological emanation out of *Phiops*. At the same time, there is every likelihood that, long even before then, the higher priesthood had been aware of the truth regarding the little extra $\frac{1}{4}$ day, but, in the well-known sacerdotal way, had kept it back from common knowledge as a mystery too sacred for anyone save only themselves—whence, perchance, the manner of depicting the Child Horus. Nay, my suggestion is that, as a religious cult, this reserved truth was known for centuries before the age of the First Dynasty. But, even then, the cult was in vogue only in priestly and royal circles, and as a matter of esoteric faith; and did not develop into exoteric shape, *i.e.*, was not metamorphosed into a worldly, civil institution, till the accession of Mēnēs, say *circa* B.C. 2907 $\frac{113}{480}$.

Accordingly, it would seem highly probable that this period of 790 $\frac{149}{1440}$ years—from B.C. 3698 $\frac{61}{180}$ to B.C. 2907 $\frac{113}{480}$ —is identifiable as the age of those shadowy and mysterious dynasties who preceded what are usually regarded as historical or dynastic times, and who were venerated traditionally under the name of the HOR-SHESŪ, or WORSHIPPERS OF HORUS—sometimes under the curious name of the *Nekuēs*, or “The Dead.”

This $\frac{1}{4}$ day (rather than the 5th day, as usually represented) seems also to have been known mystically as the “Tongue of the Balance,” the “Truth-Teller”; though eventually, for the ignorant masses, and in connection with certain features of the Osiris legend, it

became associated with and symbolised by the Phallus, or Lingam—an inaccurate but good-natured or perhaps politic concession on the part of the Priesthood, Officialdom, and the Court, to the mentality of the lower orders.

From the foregoing considerations it would therefore appear that all these Calendrical Reforms were really distinct events, associable with different and well-separated eras—the Ptāh *régime* being succeeded by the First Reign of Rā, that by the Osirian Luni-Solar *régime*, and that again by the second Reign of Rā. The Ptāh *régime* was sidereal: the Rā *régimes* solar. But, for Plutarch and his reading public, the change from original Rā to Osiris, and that from Osiris back to Rā, are seemingly all merged together in the one story of Thoth playing at counters with the Moon-Goddess, or the one story about the origin of the so-called Brood of Seb—thus accounting, as it were straight-away, for the 5 days that were eventually (but by no means all at once) added to the original 360, to fill up the gap of supposedly only 5 degrees that were observed, after a time, or bit by bit from time to time, at the point, or points, where one cycle ended and another should have begun.

Let us now gather up and review our conclusions, so far. This will clear the ground, and perhaps enable us to make a further advance.

First we went back in imagination to those incalculably remote times when the land-areas of the Northern Hemisphere presented the appearance of one solid, continuous, homogeneous mass, and when, over that mass, Humanity was distributed as it were in 3 main zones—Black Humanity in the southernmost zone; Dark-White Humanity, or the Melano-Leukochroi, in the central zone; and Yellow Humanity, or the Xanthochroi, in the northernmost zone.

Next we realised the probability that, in what is known as the Inter-Glacial Age, settlements were effected at and in the vicinity of the North Pole. These were apparently in groups—some at what may be called the Pole itself; others in the various zones, more or less distant from the Pole, into which all the territories within the Arctic Circle may be regarded as divisible.

The Dwellers (if any) at the Pole itself became familiar with the glorious phenomenon of the 30-Dawns, and not unnaturally divided their artificial Spheroid, or Calendar, into 360 degrees—their year consisting of one long day and one long night of six months each.

In the Circum-Polar zones the year had three aspects—(1) one long continuous day, (2) one long continuous night, and (3) a succession of ordinary days and nights. During (1) the Sun revolved overhead, as at the Pole, but obliquely instead of horizontally. During (2) the Sun remained altogether below the horizon. And during (3) there took place ordinary sunrise and sunset, the Sun staying above the horizon for a part of every 24 hours, which varied according to the orb's position in the Ecliptic.

In these Circum-Polar zones the months of sunshine varied from 7 to 11—the zone nearest the Polar settlement proper getting the 7, while that farthest away, next the Temperate Zone, enjoyed the 11.

We saw how these facts affected Calendars and Sacerdotal Functions in after ages, when Humanity had become more diffused and heterogeneous.

How long the Inter-Glacial period lasted, we do not definitely know; but we assumed that while, during that period, divers groups of Humanity dwelt at and around the North Pole, there, whatever they may have been before (and here we need not enter into that), they developed in course of evolution into a distinctly

individuated physical type, which may be referred to as the Leukochroi, or Blond Humanity.

Then, with the advent of the last Glacial Period, vast geological upheavals, subsidences, and transformations—perhaps gradual, perhaps cataclysmic—occurred all over the Northern Hemisphere. The land-surface, which for countless ages had been continuous and homogeneous, broke up; what we call the New World severed itself and drew away from the Old World; and Europe-Asia-Africa on the one hand, and America on the other, assumed much the appearance that they present to-day, except for this—that, in mid-Atlantic, a large and beautiful island-continent was formed, as though by magic, with the Gulf-Stream winding past, thus blessing it with a paradisaical climate, one of seemingly perpetual Spring. This was the wondrous country that Plato wrote about, under the name of *Poseidōnis*.

In this connection my theory was that, abandoning their age-long homes at and around the North-Pole, Blond Humanity migrated to Poseidōnis, and there took up their residence in splendid isolation. Poseidōnis thus became the area of characterisation of Blond Humanity, who there, in course of further evolution, developed into the physical type specially distinguishable under the coined name of the Rhodo-Leukochroi, or Rosy-Blonds. Theirs was the so-called *Age of Atlantis*. The preceding age may be conveniently referred to under the name whereby the Theosophists and others sometimes distinguished it, *i.e.*, the *Age of Greater Atlantis*.

The rest of Humanity was still distributed over the Earth much as they had been before. In particular, the Great Central Zone, extending from say Atlas and the Pyrenees in the west to Euphrato-Tigris and Jordanic Western Asia and parts of Northern Arabia in the east, was still the special area of characterisation of the

Dark-Whites, or Melano-Leukochroi (J. L. Myres's "Mediterranean" Man). The Yellows, or Xanthochroi, were diffused over the remainder of Western, Northern, Central, and Eastern Asia—all of which may for the present be included under the name Tūrān. The Blacks inhabited the countries lying in the Southern Zone.

The Great Central Zone, throughout which were diffused the Dark-Whites, stretched not only considerably northwards, thus including parts of Southern Europe, but also considerably southwards, thus embracing extensive areas in Northern Africa.

Now began the era of race-amalgamations. Of these we notice two—

(1) An amalgamation between the Dark-Whites, or Melano-Leukochroi, and the Yellows, or Xanthochroi, which resulted in the birth of the barbarous Kāssi, apparently somewhere in the neighbourhood of the Caucasus. From them sprang numerous substocks, *e.g.*, the Broadheads, or Alpines, and kindred folks of what we now call Central Europe, Balkania, and Asia Minor; the people of Kūsh on the Upper Nile; the Kāssites and Kephēnians of Nūm-Mā, or Si-Nim, including the Zāgros; and the like. Derived from these were the following later offshoots—the Khātti, Kheta, or Hittites, the Keftiū of Kilikia, the Tokhs, Dahyūs, or Dasyūs (Dahæ), of Central Asia, or Central Tūrān, and the still later Tokhāris, Tokhārās Tūshārās, or Ta-Hias, Kūshāns, and so forth, of early Indian and other history—all which names are more or less associated, directly or indirectly, with the ancient double idea of a "Wolf-Folk," and a "Snowy-Range-" or "Hill-Folk."

(2) An amalgamation, principally in the countries bordering on the Mediterranean Sea ("Great Sea"), whether in Europe or in Africa, between the autochthonous

Dark-Whites, or Melano-Leukochroi, and Rosy-Blond immigrants from Poseidōnis, who settled amongst, and gradually superposed themselves upon, the former.

Early settlements in North-West Africa from primitive Poseidōnis, when the inhabitants of the latter were still only Blond, and not yet Rosy-Blond, may possibly account for the origin of the Libyans.

The Age during which, for countless centuries, the Dark-Whites dwelt undisturbed throughout the Great Central Zone—and in course of which their easternmost representatives developed into the more or less distinct variety of man commonly and loosely known as “the Semites,” while similarly their southernmost representatives developed into the variety known as “the Hamites” —may be designated the Melano-Leukochroic, or shortly the Melanochroic Age. Romic civilisation on the Nile was at first a very special, localised, and isolated expression of this archaic Mediterranean civilisation.

Nevertheless, the latter part of the Melanochroic Age must have been marked by ceaseless attempts on the part of the Rosy-Blonds from Poseidōnis to establish themselves amongst the Dark-Whites in many of the countries surrounding the Mediterranean Sea, especially on the European side.

This old Melanochroic Age, I suggest, was dominated by associations connected with a divine name which is etymonically obscure, but which we may render El, or Āb-El, and its variants, whereto are probably traceable such subsequent names as Hēra, Eros, Hēlios, Āpollōn (Āpa-Alah-Aun), and the like.

The succeeding Age, which saw the immigrant Rosy-Blonds racially superposed upon the Dark-Whites, and politically and otherwise dominant throughout the countries surrounding the Mediterranean, but with the chief seat of their power and culture probably established over

the area now represented by the Aegean Sea and its immediate environment, may be designated the Rhodochroic Age. It was dominated, I suggest, by associations connected with a divine name also etymonically obscure, but which we may render *Iō*—later *Diū* and its variants—whence the eventual traditions concerning *Zeus*, *Jupiter*, *Diōnē*, *Jūno*, etc.

Under the influences of this new era, the old isolated civilisation of the Nile Valley was subjected to a gradual but steady and very drastic transmutation. There were also very far-reaching ethnic transformations. Nevertheless, the Romiū as a national race, and Romic civilisation too, remained strikingly unique—owing, no doubt, to their geographical isolation. Amongst them the old Melanochroic divine name *El* was probably represented by a *Lā*—whence, I suggest, came the better known form *Rā*—for in those regions, as elsewhere, *l* and *r* were interchangeable phonetically.

Now, whoever were the more or less immediate ancestors of the ancient Romiū—a question with which we are not for the moment concerned—it is clear, from a study of the various Calendrical *Régimes* from time to time successively in vogue in Khem, that the ancient Romiū must have been, if not the direct or indirect descendants, at any rate the direct or indirect cultural heirs, of one of the several groups of originally Blond Humanity who, as we have seen, at some time in the very remote past (probably during the so-called Inter-Glacial Period), dwelt either at the North Pole itself, or in one of the 5 Zones into which we may regard the Circum-Polar regions as being divisible. If there was never really any settlement exactly at the North Pole itself, is it possible that here we find the remote origin of the later idea sometimes met with in Sanskrit literature regarding what are called “the Five Races”?

Otherwise than by resorting to this Boreal hypothesis, there seems to be no way of accounting for the fact that, whatever from time to time was the stage of their knowledge on the subject of the true length of the year—nay, even in the days when they knew to a certainty that it consisted of about $365\frac{1}{4}$ Spheroidal days or degrees—deep down in the treasure-vaults of their wonderful mentality the ancient Romiū tenaciously cherished the primitive Boreal conception of a Spheroid scientifically and properly divided into only 360 degrees, and therefore of a year similarly divided basically into only 360 days. In this connection we need only refer to (1) the custom observed at Akanthē, near Memphis, in accordance with which a perforated vessel was filled with water by 360 priests, one priest at a time pouring in his contribution daily, throughout the artificial year; (2) the similar custom observed in the island of Philae, when, by way of funeral libations to Osiris, 360 pitchers were ranged round that divinity's tomb, and one by one were filled every day by the priests with milk; and (3) the 12th Dynasty contract-inscription, recording that the technical meaning of a "Temple-day" was the 360th part of the Temple's annual revenue in food.

From the several characters and known succession of the various Time-Systems from time to time in vogue in Khem, it now seems possible to place the origins of ancient Romic Civilisation upon a fairly satisfactory chronological basis.

The first Time System is known in Romic mythology, *i.e.*, allegorically, as the Reign of Ptāh. Because of its essential relations with certain ceaseless movements then specially associated with Celestial Polar regions, we may also call it the *régime* of the Polar-Clock. It was Sidereal in its nature, and rested on the above-mentioned conception of an annual Cycle or Spheroid of 360 days or

degrees. Thus, Calendar-time was then short of reality by about $5\frac{1}{4}$ days or degrees; for the true year, as we know, consists of $365\frac{1}{4}$ spheroidal days or degrees, or thereabouts. In other words, if we take the first annual revolution, New Year's Day (which was then celebrated at the Summer Solstice) did not come round again on the Calendar till about $5\frac{1}{4}$ days after Nature herself had announced the advent of the Solstice. That is to say, the Calendar took $5\frac{1}{4}$ days (or thereabouts) longer than True Time to arrive at its annually cyclic goal at any point on the Spheroid. This means that, during the first half of a cyclic period of $68\frac{1}{2}$ years ($360 \div 5\frac{1}{4}$), or perhaps more strictly $69\frac{4}{7}$ years, the relations between the Calendar and the natural Seasons became increasingly confused: in fact, when the Cycle was half-way through, the seasons as they actually came round, and as they were recorded in the Calendar, became completely reversed. We can be even more exact than $69\frac{4}{7}$ years for this reversal. $5\frac{1}{4}$ days is only an approximation. The precise period is 5 days, 5 hours, and either 48 minutes, 48 seconds, or 52 minutes, 8.4 seconds, according as we adopt our own Western reckoning or Indian reckoning. The correct figure, therefore, is probably the same as that which marks the shifts of the Pole-Star, Equinoxes, and Solstices—namely $71\frac{77}{90}$ (or perhaps more strictly $71\frac{143}{167}$ years for every shift of 1 degree. For all these slow changes are really only different localised aspects of one mighty movement that is always going on throughout the kosmos. It is more easy to work with $71\frac{77}{90}$ than with $71\frac{143}{167}$, so I adopt $71\frac{77}{90}$. Half of that is $35\frac{167}{180}$. Therefore, periodically during the Ptāh-régime, the actual Seasons, compared with the Seasons as given in the artificial Calendar, seemed entirely reversed—Spring being present when the Calendar announced

Autumn, and Summer when the Calendar showed Winter. Of course, with another full $\frac{1}{2}$ -Cycle of $35\frac{1.67}{1.80}$ years, matters righted themselves again.

Now, it seems that all this happened no less than 7 times before the ancient Romiū made up their minds to effect a reform in their Calendar. On the occasion of the 8th recurrence—which corresponded with what the Romiū called the 8th Hāthor, *i.e.*, the 8th one-degree shift of the Equinox—the Romiū did effect a re-construction of their Time-System: but, in connection therewith instead of calling the new epoch the 8th Hāthor, they called it the Opening of the Reign of Rā. In a subsequent age there was another Reign of Rā; so this one was distinguished as the First Reign of Rā.

But now where are we, from a chronological point of view? In those days the Sun, at the Summer Solstice, was looked upon as a mere derivative and local fire, resulting from the drilling-operations of Ptāh at the North Pole. The name the Romiū gave to the divinity whom they regarded as presiding at this "Place of the Production of Fire," was Sekhet, the Beloved Consort of Ptāh. Moreover, she was often, if not usually, represented as a *lion*-headed woman; and for this and other reasons we are able to identify the Celestial Summer Solstice, in the days when the Ptāh-*régime* was in vogue in Khem, with Zōdiacal Leo. It follows that the Celestial Vernal Equinox was then in Constellation Taurus. This gives us an extreme limit of *circa* True B. C. $4459\frac{8}{9}$ as the date of the commencement of the reign of Ptāh, *as recognised in Khem*. For I am assuming that A. M. O=Conv. 30 Constellation Piscēs, but that Jesus Christ was born about 28 Constellation Piscēs, *i.e.*, $148\frac{5}{9}$ years beyond Spheroidal Zero, as conventionally placed between 1 Ariēs and 30 Piscēs. As $71\frac{7}{90} \times 7 = 520\frac{89}{90}$, we must subtract the latter from B. C. $4459\frac{8}{9}$

to arrive at the approximate date of the end of the Reign of Ptāh. That brings us down to the epoch True B. C. $3956\frac{81}{90}$, when the Celestial Vernal Equinox was in 23 Constellation Taurus. A further period of $71\frac{77}{90}$ years—which takes us to True B. C. $3885\frac{4}{90}$ —would have been the era of the 8th Hāthor, had that old terminology remained in vogue. It was now, however, discarded, like the Polar-Clock, and therefore True B. C. $3956\frac{81}{90}$ marks the epoch of the beginning of the First Reign of Rā.

The question arises—At what point on the Spheroid did this new *régime* commence in B. C. $3956\frac{81}{90}$? We know that during the Ptāh *régime*, New Year's Day was celebrated at the Celestial Summer Solstice. On the conventional Diagram that, of course, meant June, Terrestrially; and if it is permissible to speak of the later Egyptian months as in vogue then, and thus to equate June with Mesorē, then Thoth would have fallen to July, Paōphi to August, and Āthyr, the third month from the end of Mesorē, *i.e.*, the end of the Solstice month, to September. Directly opposite Āthyr, on the other side of the Diagram, was Constellation Scorpio—representing then the place of the Celestial Autumnal Equinox. Now, Āthyr is merely a variant of the name Hāthor. Therefore, as Hāthor (then in her 8th remove) was thus associated with the Celestial Autumnal Equinox, surely it would be only right and proper therewith also to associate the newly-acceding Lord of the Heavens?

Accordingly we assume that during the new *régime*—that of the First Reign of Rā—the Calendrical year opened, *i.e.*, New Year's Day was celebrated, at the Celestial Autumnal Equinox. Under this *régime* the old conception of an annual Cycle divided into only 360 spheroidal days or degrees, was religiously retained, and, moreover,

nothing whatever was yet done to supplement it in any way. In short, it never occurred to the Romiū to think that there was anything wrong with that. What *had* proved untrustworthy were the Polar-Clock and the Sidereal Time-System; and it was evidently imagined that if the Calendrical Opening of the Year at the Celestial Summer Solstice were abandoned in favour of a fresh Calendrical Opening at the Celestial Autumnal Equinox, as seemingly suggested by the goddess Hāthor herself, all would be well. Ptāh, then, and his consort Sekhet, alone were blamed: otherwise everything went on much as usual. For example, the Cycle for the new *régime* remained just the very same as that which had distinguished the old discarded *régime*—it was still one of $71\frac{7}{90}$ years. The inevitable consequence was that, when half of it had expired—*i.e.*, after the lapse of the same old period of $35\frac{1}{2}\frac{67}{180}$ years—the Seasons as Calendrically shown, and as they in fact came round in the natural way, once more revealed themselves as absolutely reversed.

The Reign of Ptāh had ended in True B. C. $3956\frac{81}{90}$. This $\frac{1}{2}$ -Cycle of $35\frac{1}{2}\frac{67}{180}$ years, subtracted from that, brings us down to True B. C. $3920\frac{175}{180}$ with the Celestial Vernal Equinox at 23 Constellation Taurus. This, therefore, represents the approximate date of the close of the so-called First Reign of Rā. With the further reform that was now effected we are introduced to the epoch of the beginning of a new and quite different *régime*—that of Osiris.

At what point on the Spheroid did this Osirian *régime* commence? By B. C. $3920\frac{175}{180}$, in its annual revolution round the circle, New Year's Day (let us call it Progressive 1 Thoth) had got back, as was supposed, to its original starting-point alongside the outer or Fixed Spheroid—the Celestial Autumnal Equinox—

thus theoretically equating with what we may style Fixed 1 Thoth. That is what the Calendar indicated. But what the Calendar indicated as the Celestial *Autumnal* Equinox (which ought really to have been in 23 Constellation Scorpio) was, in glaring and disconcerting fact, the Celestial *Vernal* Equinox in 23 Constellation Taurus! What were the Romic priests and officials to do in these circumstances?

To disturb long-established festivals, functions, and all the customary arrangements of the people, was out of the question. That would have been a political blunder of the first magnitude. The only course to adopt was to let matters go on seemingly as usual, but at the same time subtly and secretly to harmonise the Calendar with the facts of Nature, or what were then thought to be such—celebrating New Year's Day at that particular stage just as before, but calling it (what in fact it was) the New Year's Day at the Celestial *Vernal* Equinox—not the Celestial *Autumnal* Equinox, as had theretofore been the custom.

Osiris stands for a completely changed order—a Year of 364 days, made up of 13 lunar divisions, or months, of only 28 (instead of 30) days each, and opening calendrically at the Celestial Vernal Equinox in 23 Constellation Taurus, where that Equinox then lay=*circa* True B. C. 3920 $\frac{17.5}{180}$ aforesaid. Note, however, that the old Rā-form of the Year—360 Spheroidal days or degrees—was not rejected, at least not openly. The newly conceived Year-form (364 days) was got as it were surreptitiously, by divers artful supplementations quietly inserted by the priests from time to time. Later on, as we know, these were all cleverly transmuted into allegories, to amuse, if not to instruct, the masses.

Such a Year, however, would still have been $1\frac{1}{4}$ days short of the true Year with its $365\frac{1}{4}$ days, or thereabouts.

Its Cycle was therefore $291\frac{1}{5}(364 \div 1\frac{1}{4})$ years, or perhaps more strictly $292\frac{1}{5}$ years. Accordingly, at the end of one-half of that period, the Seasons would again have appeared completely reversed. But, for the Romiū to have realised that fact as an ineluctable eventuality, it was not necessary for the entire $\frac{1}{2}$ -period, or $146\frac{1}{10}$ years, to elapse. The possibility, nay, the certainty, of an intelligent anticipation was theirs. In short, $22\frac{31}{65}$ years would have sufficed to displace the seasons by at least one full month. That, however, would obviously have been *only an Osirian month of 28 days*. The Romiū preferred to see a displacement by one full *ordinary* month. To get that, they seem deliberately to have allowed 28 years—or rather (according to Plutarch) 27 years, 2 months (say Thoth and Paōphi), and 17 days (of Āthyr)—to elapse. That gave them the desired displacement, or even perhaps a little over, *i.e.*, between 33 and 34 old-style days—at any rate, sufficient to judge by. Thus, in Āthyr of *circa* True B.C. $3892\frac{175}{180}$ (the 28th regnal years of Osiris), this Luni-Solar *régime* came to an end.

According to Plutarch, the Sun was then in Constellation Scorpio—apparently somewhere about its 23rd degree—which, at that age, was the place of the Celestial *Autumnal* Equinox. Here, we are told, Osiris was slain by Typhon, or Set, aided by 72 ($71\frac{77}{90}$?) accomplices. But here also, according to a further tale invented by the priests for similar popular consumption, Osiris merely disappeared from earthly view, descending there and then into Amenta, or the Under-World, which he traversed for 182 ($\frac{1}{2}$ of 364 ?) days, sailing in an ark or coffer, shaped like a bull, and then re-appeared to view on the opposite side of the Spheroid at the Celestial *Vernal* Equinox, in Constellation Taurus (Meṣ-Rā ?)—say *circa* its 23rd degree.

Thus Osiris became known as the God of the Vernal Equinox (which was also the point where he had originally acceded, at the close of the First Reign of Rā): and here also we seem to hit upon a satisfactory explanation of, or at least allusion to, the fact that traditionally Osiris was associated with *both* Equinoxes.

The Luni-Solar *régime* having thus proved a failure, resort was now once more had to a purely Solar form of the Year—yet not quite the same as that which had been recognised during the First Reign of Rā. A further additional day was tacked on to the discarded, and yet *not* discarded, Osirian Year of 364 days or spheroidal degrees, thus making it one of 365 such days or degrees. This new *régime* was accordingly designated the Second Reign of Rā.

Even then, however, the Calendar was about $\frac{1}{4}$ of a day short of reality—*i.e.*, of the true Year of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days.

For this reformed Solar Year the Cycle, at the end of which everything, after having become disorganised, once more got back to normal, was 1460 (365×4) years; and again, of course, it resulted, or would have resulted, in a complete reversal of the Seasons after the lapse of half the Cycle, or 730 spheroidal years. But again it was not really necessary to wait so long. With the expiry of the first $121\frac{2}{3}$ spheroidal years (which constituted what the Romiū called a *Hunṭi-Heb*, or *Henti-Heb*, *i.e.*, a Quadruple Festival, being quadruple of their shorter *Sed-Heb*, or Festival in honour of a $30\frac{5}{12}$ Spheroidal Years' Period), the Seasons would have been displaced by a full month. Was it, then, after the expiry of this first *Hunṭi-Heb* that the Romiū determined on a reform? I do not think so. I *did* assume this when I wrote my last paper: but further reflection induces me to change my opinion. I am now inclined to think that the decision to reject this Second Rā *régime* was not come to

until after the celebration of the 3rd *Hun̄ti-Heb*, i.e., until the lapse of 365 years, or $\frac{1}{4}$ of the 1460-Years' Cycle. My reason for so thinking is this.

In one of the legends connected with Rā and Isis (the successress of Sekhet at the Celestial Summer Solstice), we are told that Rā had been bitten by a venomous serpent, which, of course, is an allegorical allusion to the disconcerting shift that was still going on at the Equinoxes and elsewhere. In his agony Rā addresses Isis thus—

“I am trembling all over; my eye is without strength; I can no longer distinguish the sky; the water rises up to my face, as in the season of summer” (*Creation Records*, by George St. Clair, p. 256; citing *Proc. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, 1885, p. 167).

Isis, it should be explained, was a sorceress, and Rā was appealing to her for relief. Also, she was intent on the advancement of her own personal interests; and in Rā's distress she beheld her opportunity. Accordingly, she refused to succour him unless and until he gave her his esoteric name—there being, in popular belief at that time, some mystic potency of a very high order in such a name and in the revelation and conferment thereof. Rā did as demanded, and immediately vanished from sight. Thereupon, but then only, did the Goddess utter her magic spell.

The clue to the meaning of all this lies in Rā's last cry—“the water rises up to my face, as in the season of summer!”

What have we here if not, as St. Clair observes, “the seeming irruption of the waters of the underworld abyss, on the eastern side, as the earth sank, relatively, through the precession movement. It went down to the extent of 7° before Rā's first appearance; and now it had gone down by several more”? (*Ib.*, p. 257).

But there is clearly even more in it than this. What particularly catches my attention lurks in the words "as in the season of summer." Surely such a remark can only mean that, on the occasion to which Rā's outcry had reference, Khem was actually experiencing Summer-time, when, according to Calendar, the season ought to have been Spring-tide? In other words, the Romiū had allowed 365 years of their then Cycle of 1,460 years to elapse; and naturally there had been a displacement of 3 *full months*. And what is meant by that part of the story which tells of Isis having tricked Rā out of his name, and got possession of it herself, and caused him to disappear from sight, if not simply this, that it was the allegorical way in which the priests chose to enshrine a memory of the fact that, at that particular epoch, the Celestial Summer Solstice had successfully ousted the Celestial Vernal Equinox as the officially adopted Calendrical Opening of the Year? The date must then have been *circa* True B. C. $3526\frac{155}{180}$ —for that is what we are brought down to, if we subtract 365 from B. C. $3891\frac{155}{180}$. This means that the Celestial Vernal Equinox was then somewhere within 18 Constellation Taurus. Hence, the Celestial Summer Solstice must have been somewhere within 18 Constellation Leo.

In this Second Reign of Rā, Rā is said to have been "lifted up," *i.e.*, as St. Clair suggests, elevated from the Equinoctial position to that of the Summer Solstice. Seeing that, with this *régime*, its Year of 365 days, and its consequent Cycle of 1,460 years, we are introduced to at least the terminology (*e.g.*, Sōthic Cycles, and what not) of associations connected with the Dog-Star, Sirius—which, however, was very remote indeed from the then Celestial Summer Solstice—there arise in our minds certain disturbing doubts and

difficulties which may be stated roughly in question-form, thus—

Have we even yet decided what the so-called Sōthic Cycle really was ; when it originated ; and what we ourselves mean when we speak of it ?

Were there any Sōthic Cycles before the one which, according to R. S. Poole, commenced in conventional B.C. 1322 ?

Do not some writers, past and present, rather mix up two ideas which ought to be kept perfectly distinct—that of the Sōthic Cycle proper, and that of another kind of Cycle which is not really Sōthic, though it also consisted of 1,460 years ? Poole saw this clearly.

“The ancient Egyptians,” he says, “possessed a series of chronological periods commencing in the year B. C. 2717, and.....these periods were independent of any Sōthic Cycles, although one of them was a cycle, similar in character and length to the Sōthic” (*Horæ Egyptiacæ*, p. 36).

He proceeds—

“The evidence of ancient writers.....is also strongly against the opinion that there were Sōthic Cycles before the Era of Menophres. No ancient writer of the least authority, none but the impostors who composed such works as the ‘Book of Sōthis,’ and the ‘Old Chronicle,’ and their followers, speak of Sōthic Cycles before the year B. C. 1322 ; and the very name of the Era of Menophres seems to point to a new institution, and not to the renewal of a cycle” (*ib.*, pp. 36, 37).

And, with reference to the mention of Sōthic Cycles in connection with the alleged reigns of the gods, he asks—

“But who can base a *chronological* argument upon a *mythological* computation ?” (*ib.*, p. 37.)

I am not so sure, however, that this cannot be done,

Again, the initial rise of the waters of the Nile, heralded for some time past by the annual Hēliacal Rising or "Manifestation" (Epiphany) of Sōthis—the Greco-Egyptian name for the star just mentioned—occurred, we know, about $1\frac{1}{2}$ months before the Autumnal Equinox; and all this is not unfrequently supposed to have been always associated with the Summer Solstice. That, however, is simply impossible.

The further question, therefore, very naturally arises, are there any solid reasons why we should retain these views, say in connection with the above-mentioned particular era, True B. C. $3891\frac{155}{180}$ — $3526\frac{155}{180}$, when the Celestial Vernal Equinox was associated successively with 23, 22, 21, 20, 19 and 18 Taurus, or indeed with any era before comparatively modern times? In other words, is there anything in the vague idea that, in the Second Reign of Rā, the Calendrical Opening of the Year, which had originally been at the Celestial Vernal Equinox, was deliberately transferred to the Celestial Summer Solstice *because all these phenomena happened then to coincide?*

The initial rising of the Nile-waters always takes place about $1\frac{1}{2}$ months before the Autumnal Equinox. On the conventional Diagram that Equinox equates terrestrially with our present 22nd-23rd September. Accordingly, $1\frac{1}{2}$ months before then indicates end of our present July. But to-day the Celestial Autumnal Equinox is at about the middle of Constellation Leo=say (Terrestrially) middle of present August. $1\frac{1}{2}$ months before then takes us back to somewhere early in present June. That, therefore, is where the initial rising should be to-day. In True B. C. $3526\frac{155}{180}$, however, the Celestial Autumnal Equinox was in 18 Constellation Scorpio=say early in our present November. $1\frac{1}{2}$ months before that date takes us to somewhere about 3 Constellation Libra. That, therefore, would indicate say late in our present September, as

the time when the initial rising took place then. Such a point on the Spheroid was obviously remote from the point occupied by the Celestial Summer Solstice, which was then at about 18 Constellation Leo!

Reverting even to present-day conditions, June represents a point equating with the Celestial Summer Solstice on the conventional Diagram, *i.e.*, 30 Constellation Gemini, rather than with the Celestial Summer Solstice where it actually is to-day, *i.e.*, about 30 Constellation Taurus. On the same Diagram the Celestial Summer Solstice in B. C. 1322 (True B. C. 1470) must have been somewhere within 19 Constellation Cancer. That is nowhere near the rising-place of Sirius, which is either somewhere in Constellation Gemini, or about 30 Constellation Taurus.

Then what about Sirius itself? It is a star in the cluster *Canis Majoris*, near Orion—thus very far removed in those days (True B. C. 3526_{180}^{155}) both from the then Celestial Summer Solstice and from the Celestial point marking the initial rising of the Nile waters.

When, therefore, in *circa* True B. C. 3526_{180}^{155} , the Romic priests changed the Calendrical Opening of the Year from its original place at the Celestial Vernal Equinox to the Celestial Summer Solstice, it could hardly have been for considerations based on any such vague conception regarding the coincidence of the initial rising of the Nile and the Celestial Summer Solstice as that just dealt with. It must simply have been, as already stated, because, after the lapse of 365 spheroidal years from the opening of the Cycle of 1,460 years, Mid-Summer was actually on when, according to Calendar, the season ought to have been Spring.

We have now arrived at the epoch of the last reform of all, when the true form and length of the Natural

Year were practically recognised, and when the Artificial Year or Calendar was finally reconstructed in harmony with that recognition. In short, if, by the so-called "lifting up" of Rā, we are to understand the transfer of the Calendrical Opening of the Year from the Celestial Vernal Equinox to the Celestial Summer Solstice, as that was situated in *circa* B. C. $3526\frac{15.5}{180}$, that reform was nothing more nor less than the Birth of Horus the Younger. In other words, it ushered in what is known as the new *régime* called in Romic mythology The Reign of Horus—from True B. C. $3526\frac{15.5}{180}$ to—what? Shall we say B. C. $2907\frac{15.5}{180}$ (about 620 years)—traditionally referred to as the Age of the Hor-Shesū, or Followers or Worshippers of Horus? If so, it will be seen that, since writing my last paper, I have slightly revised my figures representing the duration of this obscure period.

Throughout those 620 years—or other indefinite period, whatever it may eventually turn out to be—the knowledge of the true length of the Natural Year, and the necessity for having a Calendar to correspond therewith, was really confined to the Priesthood, to Officialdom, and to the Court; and in those circles, but there only, it flourished exceedingly as an esoteric religious cult.

It was not till the accession of Mēnēs that this secret, exclusive faith became exoteric, and was openly promulgated in the form of a civil institution.

The old defective Year which, because of its shortage, progressed all round the fixed Spheroid on a cyclic career of its own, with no concern, during at least half the time, for the actual seasons of the Natural Year, was nevertheless (under the name of the "Vague Year") still retained in a manner and for popular purposes, though in a modified form, due to skilful official manipulations. But the Cycle which necessarily sprang into being from this final

recognition of the facts of the Kosmos, now consisted of 1,460 years of 365 $\frac{1}{4}$ days each, *i.e.*, of 1,461 years of 365 days each. This, therefore, also *eventually* became the length of the so-called Sōthic Cycle, or the period that, as each of the former kinds of cycle succeeded one another, elapsed between two successive *special* Risings of Sirius, of the sort that *only happened once in one of the former kinds of Cycles*.

The foregoing considerations clear the way for a further investigation of what is usually called the era of Menophrēs. As stated in my pamphlet on *Ancient Romie Chronology*, Menophrēs is probably merely a Hellenised form of "Men-Nofer," *i.e.*, "Good or Perfect Mansion," originally the name of a pyramid erected by Pepi I of the 6th Dynasty; and the quartette of Sōthic Risings, usually called the Era of Menophrēs by Egyptologists, and generally associated with Poole's "B.C. 1322," was merely the first recurrence of a similar quartette which had preceded it, and which, as I suggest, rather than "B. C. 1322," was the first of its kind.

Speaking of the astronomical ceiling in what he describes as the Rāmēsēum at El-Kūrneh, Poole says—

"The First of these representations is a boat, in which stands a female figure, shown by her name and position to be Isis-Sothis (commonly called Sothis), the Sirius of the Greeks and moderns. The head of this figure is beneath the commencement of Thoth, the first month. It is universally acknowledged that this figure and place of Sothis represent the so-called heliacal rising of that star" *Horæ Egyptiacæ*, p. 28).

* * * * *

"Since the head of the figure of Sothis is beneath the commencement of the first month, Thoth, it is evident, especially when we compare this with the other representations of the same division, that, at the time when this record was sculptured, Sothis rose in the manner which then marked the commencement of the cycle in the beginning or course of Thoth, the first month" (*ib.*, p. 29).

Then, referring to some expert calculations made at his request, Poole continues—

“and thus we see that the phenomenon which marked the commencement of the Sothic Cycle that began in the year B.C. 1322 was the rising of Sothis about one hour before sunrise at Memphis on the 20th of July, which then corresponded to the first day of the Vague Year” (*ib.*, p. 31).

This “B.C. 1322” is only one of several 1460 years-Cycle commencement-dates alluded to by Poole. Adding 1,460 years, he invites us back to another such date, namely, “B. C. 2782.” And again, adding 1,460 years to that, we arrive, he says, at yet another such date, namely, “B.C. 4242.” But do we? Can we? With an arbitrarily assumed beginning (and we must assume such a beginning somewhere) at say *Anno Mundi 0* (corresponding to Conventional B. C. 4004), if B. C. 2782 be reduced to A.M. style, *i.e.*, to A.M. 1222, is any such date as “B. C. 4242” possible—at least in A. M. style? Of course we must be intellectually honest, and admit that Conv. B. C. 4004 was not necessarily “the beginning,” *i.e.*, does not really represent the epoch when the first Calendar, truly harmonising with the Natural Year, was promulgated. In fact, this question of “the beginning”—I mean from a purely chronological point of view—is still very much going a-begging. Thus, B.C. 4004=A. M. 0, is quite arbitrary. Nevertheless, we are arguing on that basis, though, as a matter of fact, I place the birth of Jesus Christ 148 $\frac{5}{8}$ years later, zodiacally than the conventional date.

Note, too, that Poole gives us the definite date “20th July,” as marking the heliacal rising of Sirius in B.C. 1322 (Conv.)—and from some writings on Egyptology it would seem that by this we are to understand a Summer Solstice falling about the same date. On our conventional Diagram Sirius, if it be associable with 30 Constellation Taurus, rises in May. Actually, however, I suppose it

now rises, *i.e.*, hēliacally about 22nd June—seeing that to-day the Celestial Vernal Equinox is somewhere about 30 Constellation Aquarius. A Summer Solstice on 20th July (conventional), really indicates a Celestial Summer Solstice at say $\frac{27}{28}$ Constellation Cancer. That means that the Celestial Vernal Equinox was then at say $\frac{27}{28}$ Ariēs=not “B.C. 1322” (*i.e.*, True B.C. 1470 $\frac{5}{9}$), but *circa* True B.C. 2088 $\frac{29}{90}$, or Conv. B.C. 1940 $\frac{9}{90}$.

In True B. C. 1322 the Celestial Vernal Equinox was at 17 Constellation Ariēs. Conventional B.C. 1322 would have been at 15 Ariēs—the place of True B.C. 1173 $\frac{4}{9}$. Therefore the Celestial Summer Solstice must then have been at 17 Constellation Cancer=Terrestrially somewhere about 9th July. This seems rather remote from the place (Celestial) where Sirius rises hēliacally.

But, granting that we succeed in forming fairly clear conceptions regarding (1) the nature of the so-called Sōthic Cycle, (2) the Cycle that is really to be understood by that expression, and (3) the time when either the Sōthic Cycle itself, or any series of Cycles in A.M. style of which it may only have been a contained incident, began; shall we, even then, be any nearer a solution of the problem as to the period during which Mēnēs flourished regnally?

In *Ancient Romic Chronology*, working on the basis of a Natural Year of about 365 $\frac{1}{4}$ days, starting from the Celestial Autumnal Equinox (which seems to have always been in vogue at Memphis), and assuming that to have been the opening point, or 0 (*Zero*), of a Cycle of 1,461 years of 365 days each, I suggested that the traceable origins of Romic Civilisation are associable with the name of Mēnēs, and that, putting his era on the first 1461-years' Cycle (A.M.) with which we need (nay, the only first such Cycle with which we must) concern ourselves, his first regnal year was A.M. 1096 $\frac{297}{480}$ = B.C. 2907 $\frac{118}{480}$.

For the present that may be allowed to stand, as a working-hypothesis. But I also suggested that the first real Hēliacal Rising of Sōthis took place at a point exactly 10 months from the opening of the Natural Year at 0 (the Autumnal Equinox). This point I called Fixed 1 Epiphi, and I figured out that on the Spheroid, as I then constructed it, F. 1 Epiphi was represented by the following quartette of Spheroidal years :—

A.M.	B.C.
1218 $\frac{247}{480}$	2785 $\frac{333}{480}$
1219 $\frac{254}{480}$	2784 $\frac{226}{480}$
1220 $\frac{251}{480}$	2783 $\frac{229}{480}$
1221 $\frac{268}{480}$	2782 $\frac{212}{480}$

the next similar occurrence being, of course, 1,461 years afterwards, as follows—

A.M.	B.C.
2679 $\frac{247}{480}$	1325 $\frac{233}{480}$
2680 $\frac{254}{480}$	1324 $\frac{226}{480}$
2681 $\frac{261}{480}$	1323 $\frac{219}{480}$
2662 $\frac{268}{480}$	1322 $\frac{212}{480}$

and so on, at intervals of a Cycle of 1,461 years of 365 days each. This was on the basis of a Diagram which showed the signs of the Zōdiac all in proper order, and with the Equinoxes and Solstices in what, conventionally, we still regard as the correct positions, *i.e.*, *Zero* at the 30th degree of Constellation Piscēs, with 0—1 Constellation Ariēs opening the Year and the Cycle. I assumed *Zero* to equate terrestrially with our 22nd-23rd September, which was possibly right enough: but unfortunately, on the Epicycle, I brought my months downwards from there, and so on to the left, clock-fashion, and then upwards round by the right to the point where, on the outer Spheroid, Sirius rises. Such a Diagram is, of course, quite wrong; because the terrestrial months on the Epicycle

do *not* progress in the direction of a clock-hand, but contrariwise. Hence with a correctly devised Diagram, though Autumn is shown on the righthand side of the Epicycle, or small inner revolving Spheroid, yet, on the outer fixed Spheroid, that side, in conjunction with terrestrial Autumn, is really the place of the Celestial Vernal Equinox, and the Celestial Autumnal Equinox should be shown in the outer fixed Spheroid on the left-hand side of the Diagram. That, therefore, is where *Zero* (both annual and cyclic) ought to be put, assuming that the present kosmic order began in Autumn, as was held at Memphis, and as is suggested in *Genesis*; and, beginning there with say 23rd September, the months on the Epicycle should be brought downwards till we come level with the Celestial Winter Solstice on the outer Spheroid (Summer Solstice in conjunction, but on the small inner Epicycle representing Earth), and thence continued upwards till we reach the point on the outer fixed Spheroid where Sirius rises annually, *i.e.*, on the conventional Diagram, somewhere about 30 Taurus, represented terrestrially by say 22nd June.

Here, however, we naturally ask ourselves, are we *bound* to take the Celestial Autumn as the proper place at which arbitrarily to put our *Zero*? Certainly not. The very word "arbitrarily" shows this. A circle (and a Cycle is just a circle) has no beginning, and no end: and therefore whether we commence at one part or at another, is entirely optional. Some of us have got into the habit of speaking of "Creation" at some such point. But, by "Creation" we must really understand nothing but an arbitrarily chosen Cyclical, or Calendrical, starting-point. George St. Clair tells us that it was a tradition among the Hebrews that the World was created in the season of autumn—"Creation," for them, having a meaning more definitely kosmical than the above—and

that, according to Miss F. Corbaux, this tradition was borrowed by them from Egypt, or, as I would say, Khem—

“though her evidence seems simply to be that only in that country is autumn the season of renewal.”

This may be queried; for in ancient Khem it was rather the Winter Solstice, where the Tropical Year commenced, which seems to have been regarded as the “season of renewal.”

“The inundation had then” (*i.e.*, in autumn) “subsided, and the land emerged from the waters; the seed was sown and the flowers appeared. To this we may add, on our own account, that although, in the period of history, the New Year’s Day was the day of the Summer Solstice, our reading of the myths has shown that it had formerly been at the autumn equinox” (*Creation Records*, pp. 424, 425).

This further consideration on the part of St. Clair does not, however, amount to much; for, as we have seen, the First Reign of Rā, during which, and which alone, the Autumnal Equinox as a Calendrical starting-point was in vogue, seems to have lasted (in fact, though perhaps not in theory) for only the short space of $35\frac{107}{180}$ years, *i.e.*, from True B.C. $3956\frac{81}{90}$ to True B.C. $3920\frac{175}{180}$. Mr. J. B. Dimbleby, author of the *Historical Bible* and other curious works on Chronology, was a strong supporter of this hypothesis—his reason being that, if we trace back the different lines of Time that he writes about as far as we can get, they will all be found to have started from a common point, which he arbitrarily calls A.M. 0, at the Autumnal Equinox. Whether this is tenable or not, I leave to others to decide. If it be a fact, actually registered in the Kosmos, it ought to receive due recognition in any re-construction of our conventional Zōdiacal Diagram. In *The Call of the Stars*, by John R. Kippax, M.D., LL.B., at p. 33, we read as follows:—

“It makes no difference at what calendar record the year commences; so far as the seasons and constellations are concerned, it

begins when the trees begin to bud, the grass to grow, and the earth wakens out of its winter sleep. So following nature's rule..... the opening of the year, for the purposes of this book at least, will be reckoned as taking place when the sun transits the equator about the 20th of March—the epoch of the vernal equinox—instead of on the 1st of January, as fixed by statute.”

This sounds like common sense. Nevertheless, there are many more purposes in life than those contemplated in Dr. Kippax's book. The immediate trouble for us is that, whereas we moderns look at the Zōdiacal Clock from one standpoint, the ancient Romiū looked at it from various other standpoints, at different periods of their history.

At present we want to equate their kaleidoscopic but scientific chronology with our unscientific modern conventional reckoning. Can this be done? And if so, how?

It is obvious that, if we start with *Zero* on the left-hand side of our Diagram, at the place of the Celestial Autumnal Equinox (Terrestrially about 23 September, on the righthand side of the Epicycle); thence, *i.e.*, from Terrestrial Autumn, on the Epicycle, take our months upwards, till we come level with the Celestial Summer Solstice on the outer Spheroid; next, proceed downwards, past Celestial Spring; then round to the right, *via* Celestial Winter; and so back again to starting-point (Terrestrial Autumn) at *Zero* (Hebrew “Creation-point”): a system of chronology founded on such a Cycle will necessarily read very differently from one founded on a Cycle which shows *Zero* on the righthand side of the Diagram, at the place of the Celestial Vernal Equinox, Terrestrially about 21 March, on the lefthand side of the Epicycle), with its months on the Epicycle taken downwards from Terrestrial Spring, through the Terrestrial Summer Solstice (about 21 June), and thence

upwards through the Terrestrial Autumnal Equinox aforesaid, and the Terrestrial Winter Solstice (about 21 December) successively, and so back again to starting-point at *Zero*. Each would be conceivably quite as well based as the other: but their respective sequences of dates, if put side by side, will certainly not equate.

Each of the two Cycles just mentioned opens from its own *Zero*, or A.M. 0, directly opposite the point on the Diagram where the other opens. If now, we go to our conventional Diagram, and follow out the course of the Cycle first alluded to, what happens? In the first annual round, starting from Terrestrial or Epicyclic 23 September, we get level with 30 Taurus on the Celestial Spheroid, where for present purposes we may assume that Sirius always rises, 2 months after quitting 23 September. But, of course, Sirius is not rising there then. It will not rise there till we get right round to say 22 $\frac{\text{May}}{\text{June}}$ on the epicycle—8 or 9 months after starting out. But now take the Cycle secondly alluded to, and follow out its course. It reaches the same goal at 30 Taurus, not in 2, but again 8 months after setting out. Moreover, the figuring would be quite different for the 2 Cycles. For one the goal would be spheroidal division $60\frac{15}{16}$: but for the other that same point would be spheroidal division $243\frac{1}{2}$. Imagine, therefore, how complicated matters would become as years and centuries and cycles rolled on!

In *Ancient Romic Chronology* I represented the Rising as occurring, not 2, nor 8, but 10 months after *Zero*. That was because I put *Zero* at what was really the place of the Celestial Vernal Equinox, mis-deeming it that of the Celestial Autumnal Equinox; and I also led my months, on the small inner revolving Epicycle, in the wrong direction, *i.e.*, from 23 September, downwards and to the left, as a clock-hand moves, whereas from whatever Celestial Equinox we propose to start, our

months should always be led in the contrary direction—that of the revolving Earth.

As it happens, however, in spite of these defects, my results in that paper have somehow or other come out practically right—showing that, from one point of view what Dr. Kippax says is perfectly true, namely, that it does not much matter what point on the Spheroid we choose as our Calendrical Opening-point. But, having chosen our point, and built up a chronological system on it, we must be consistent, *i.e.*, we must continually remember the basic structure of that system if we want to realise its true relations to any other systems built up on points situated elsewhere on the Spheroid.

But we have also to deal with yet other *Zero*-commencements. For instance, in Dynastic times, and apparently also in the days of the Hor-Shesū, nay, even during the so-called Reign of Ptāh, the Romiū placed their *Zero* for the opening Year (and therefore practically for the Spheroidal Cycle in all its larger aspects) at the Celestial Summer Solstice. How, then, does that work out?

For us moderns the Zōdiacal Diagram has a definite conventional form, which, indeed, has characterised it from a very remote antiquity. All our attempts, therefore, at interpreting the data we possess regarding ancient Romic Chronology in various eras, will at least be assisted, if indeed they cannot only be made, by reference to that conventional clock.

There, *Zero* is on the righthand side, at the place of the Celestial Vernal Equinox—say 21 March Terrestrially. The Celestial Summer Solstice is at the top—say 21 June Terrestrially. The Celestial Autumnal Equinox is on the lefthand side—say 23 September Terrestrially. And the Celestial Winter Solstice is at the bottom—say 21 December Terrestrially. The Celestial is represented by

the fixed outer Spheroid: the Terrestrial is represented by the small inner revolving Epicycle: and the Terrestrial is always on the side of the Diagram opposite to the side on which the corresponding Celestial stands. Also, the foregoing 4 cardinal points equate respectively with Constellations 30 Piscēs, 30 Gemini, 30 Virgo, and 30 Sagittarius, all regarded as completed—both Year and Cycle thus opening at the commencement of Spring (Vasanta), with the Sun apparently starting from *Zero-point* (30 Piscēs), *i.e.*, at the initial stage 0-1 Constellation Ariēs, and thence proceeding, through Constellations Taurus, Gemini, etc., in that order, right round the Spheroid. This we may call the Celestial or Fixed Spheroid.

The Cycle thus opening is obviously not identical with the Sōthic Cycle as commonly understood—because the latter is supposed to begin at a very different point on the Spheroid, *i.e.*, 30 Taurus, or other the exact place associated with the hēliacal rising of Sirius. In fact, the Cycle from Sōthic-Rising to Sōthic-Rising of Sirius (after an interval of 1,460 years of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days each, and as distinguished from the ordinary annual Risings) is, and can be, only a contained incident in the A.M. series of 1460-years' Cycles of which I am now speaking. Moreover, the first full incidental or Sōthic Cycle does not even commence to run till the lapse of 8 months of $30\frac{1}{16}$ spheroidal days or degrees each after the opening of the first A.M. 1461-years' Cycle.

The Terrestrial Seasons, or rather the months of the Year, are arranged round the revolving Epicycle—April, for instance, being on the side directly opposite Constellation Ariēs, and therefore mostly in conjunction with Constellation Libra, but partly also with Constellation Scorpio; May being directly opposite Constellation Taurus, and therefore mostly in conjunction with Constellation Scorpio, but partly also with Constellation

Sagittarius; and so on, right round—not clock-fashion, but in the contrary direction, planet-wise.

As already remarked, the Equinoxes and Solstices are subject to a ceaseless shift: nevertheless, *as between themselves*, all the divisions and points of the Celestial Spheroid, or Zōdiacal Diagram, maintain the same relative positions—ever changeless. Indeed it is these Equinoctial and Solstitial side-steps which give us our biggest known Cycle: an entire Spheroidal Cycle of some 25,868 Years, made up of 12 divisions of about $2,155\frac{2}{3}$ years each, these again containing 30 degrees each—each degree representing $71\frac{7}{10}$ years, or thereabouts.

Does it not then follow that, for the Romiū of Dynastical, Hor-Shesū, and Ptāh times, with Thoth opening the Year and Cycle *at the Summer Solstice* (on the Terrestrial Epicycle, opposite Constellation Cancer on the conventional Diagram) Sirius rose, neither 2, nor 8, nor 10, but 11 months after Zero? Certainly, judging by the conventional Zōdiac, which places the Celestial Summer Solstice between Constellations Cancer and Gemini, and the Celestial Vernal Equinox between Constellations Piscēs and Ariēs. But, as a matter of fact, that Solstice and that Equinox were *not* at those points during the eras mentioned. Throughout the Tauric Era—*i.e.*, the $2,155\frac{2}{3}$ years during which the Celestial Vernal Equinox was in Constellation Taurus—the Celestial Summer Solstice was in Constellation Leo; and this, at the remotest limit, means an annual Rising of Sirius 9 months after Zero, which point would then have lain between Constellations Leo and Virgo.

Thus, as actually in vogue in different ages, we have several different intervals between Zero, representing an arbitrary A. M. 0, and the annual Rising of Sirius.

Should this prove confusing, the main fact to remember is that, though the points of the Spheroid shift

by virtue of Precession, yet it is a *whole* shift—all of them moving together in unison, *in one solid movement*, so to speak. As between the points themselves, nothing is altered, and therefore from that point of view none of our calculations or chronological up-buildings are affected. All we have to do is to remember that in one sense the Zōdiacal Diagram has always remained the same; but to modify that view in relation to actual historical facts, *i.e.*, to the extent of recognising that in another sense the Zōdiacal Diagram has *not* always been the same. In other words, though the chronology of Rā II and the Hor-Shesū, like that of the Egyptian priests who wrote the reports, etc., found on the monuments, is based, true enough, on a *Zero* starting from the Celestial Summer Solstice, yet, in different ages, the place of that Solstice on the Spheroid has been continually changing—nay, it is changing now.

In the days of the Hor-Shesū, though it was known amongst the initiated that the Natural Year was really $365\frac{1}{4}$ days, or thereabouts, in length, yet for ordinary everyday affairs, the older form of the Year, in vogue during the Second Reign of Rā, *i.e.*, the Year of only 365 days or degrees, was never openly given up. Hence if and when the Romiū of that age took the Cycle (whether A. M. or Sōthic) as consisting of 1,460 years, they knew that that meant 1,160 years of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days or degrees each: whereas, if and when they were contemplating a Cycle (again whether A. M. or Sōthic) of 1,461 years, they knew that that meant 1,461 years on the old basis, *i.e.*, of only 365 days or degrees to the year. Therefore, to get the true Cycle (the Cycle of the Year according to the final reform, *i.e.*, their Cycle of 1,460 years of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days or degrees each), they took the old 365-days Year as a basis, but periodically supplemented it by various ingenious devices—to each of which, in course of time,

some mythological fancy, or allegorical legend (to us more or less fantastical), became attached—the profoundly erudite, highly imaginative, and politic priests having, of course, been the inventors.

Nay, matters were even more complicated than this; because, at the back of their heads the Romiū persistently retained their conception of the preceding 364-days' Year, and even that of the still earlier 360-days' Year—both of which, in some obscure way or other, contributed to the formation of their Calendrical System, whatever that chanced to be for the time being, and so to the growth of their almost bewilderingly complicated Mythology. This appears to have been the case even in those so-called Dynastical times which were ushered in by the accession of Mēnēs. In short, the ancient forms, or conceptions, of the Year were all too deeply rooted in the customs, mentality, and affections of the country, to permit of them being torn up and cast aside.

With this aspect of the matter, however, *we* to-day are in no wise concerned. Like its subtle-minded old priests, the political necessities of Khem are dead and gone. By my system, therefore, I neglect all these elaborately supplemental manipulations. What they were intended to effect, I arrive at in a stride. I simply take my Spheroid as consisting basically of $365\frac{1}{4}$ divisions (or thereabouts): and therefrom I obtain straightaway all the necessary Calendrical multiples and subdivisions—Cycles, Hunti-Hebs, Sed-Hebs, and so forth. They all automatically emerge as integral organic parts of the Spheroidal Whole; except, of course, the biggest Cycle of all, the $25868\frac{4}{107}$ years' one, which is based on the side-step at the Poles, the Equinoxes, and the Solstices.

Nevertheless, we still remain confronted with a very great difficulty. Adopting straightforward A. M. time, from a *Zero-point* arbitrarily placed at 28 Constellation

Piscēs (epoch of Jesus Christ's birth) on the conventional Zōdiacal Diagram, and on that basis assuming *circa* True B. C. 4459 $\frac{5}{8}$ to have been the date when the Celestial Vernal Equinox lay in 30 Constellation Taurus, we have worked our way down from then, through the Ptāh *régime*, the First Reign of Rā, the Luni-Solar *régime* associated with the name of Osiris, and the Second Reign of Rā, to the opening of the Hor-Shesū age, which we have found must have been *circa* True B. C. 3526 $\frac{155}{80}$, with the Celestial Vernal Equinox at 18 Taurus. But here, unfortunately, we are stayed : for there seem to exist no known data whence we may gather the date of the opening of Dynastical times. Thus, except for what we can do (what, indeed, I have already tried to do) in the way of calculating backwards into antiquity, it appears to be impossible to decide definitely, or even perhaps approximately, what was the date when Mēnēs began to reign.

If we take one of R. S. Poole's Sōthic epochs—namely, his first one, "B. C. 1322"—and, subtracting it from B.C. 4004, change it into A. M. style, we get A. M. 2682. Then, if we go back one 1460-years' Cycle, we get A.M. 1222, representing Poole's pre-Sōthic epoch "B. C. 2782." Nay, behind that, some would have us go still further back to their "B. C. 4242." But, however desirous we may be, thus to retrogress Cycle by Cycle, there is nowhere for us to go back to ! I mean on the basis of the A. M. style into which I am converting Poole's B. C. dates. Hence, back of the A. M. 1222 above-mentioned, we can only get as far as the starting-point of the first-1460-years' A. M. Cycle=*zero* ! Beyond that, we find ourselves planing at large in mere undifferentiated duration !

The so-called Real or Extraordinary Hēliacal Sōthic Rising, or "Manifestation" (as distinguished from the

Ordinary Hēliacal Risings of Sirius that happened annually at say the point on the Spheroid which is conventionally marked as the 30th degree of Constellation Taurus), was a rising of the Dog-Star, also annual, which coincided with the arrival of Progressive 1 Thoth (the Index-Finger, or Clock-hand, and New Year's Day, of the small inner revolving Epicycle) at the point of rising on the outer or Celestial Spheroid, *i.e.*, 30 Taurus afore-said. This special appearance, or "Epiphany," occurred once, and only once, in every cycle. But *what* cycle was that? Obviously not the cycle made by Sirius itself, though that did also, and necessarily, chance to be one of 1,460 years. It must have been the cycle, or rather cycle-series, of which the Sirius-cycle was merely a contained incident, *i.e.*, the cycle found on the Spheroid—one of 1,460 years of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days each, or one of 1,461 years of only 365 days each, according as we think of the true length of the Natural Year (*circa* $365\frac{1}{4}$ days), and therefore of what the Calendrical Year *ought* to be, or of that one of the old traditional year-forms which was supposed to have only 365 days—but always, whether in connection with the year, or with any of its other more extended periodal aspects, commencing for internal purposes, from the arbitrary point A. M. 0 (*zero*), wherever on the Spheroid that chanced to be placed from age to age.

In those days (say true B. C. $3526\frac{15}{180}$, when the Celestial Vernal Equinox was in 18 Constellation Taurus, and the Celestial Summer Solstice in 18 Constellation Leo), the Calendrical arrangements of the Romiū appear to have been in no way based on any associations connected with a Calendrical New Year's Day, a Celestial Summer Solstice, and an initial rising of the Nile waters—all *coinciding*, and the last heralded by the Hēliacal Rising of Sirius,

In this connection, therefore—putting aside all considerations regarding the Celestial Summer Solstice—it would seem that, in the comparatively modern days when the Sōthic idea began to dominate Romic mentality, by the special Hēliacal Rising of Sōthis which took place but once in every cycle of 1,460 or 1,461 years, the Romiū meant simply the rising which occurred on that epochal occasion when Progressive 1 Thoth arrived at the point on the Spheroid where Sirius used to rise annually, say 2, 8, or 9 months after Progressive 1 Thoth had started out on its annual round from *Zero*. They did not *then* mix up the ideas of the Summer Solstice and the initial rising of the Nile as coincidental phenomena.

True B. C. $3526\frac{5.5}{180}$, converted into A. M. style, would be A. M. $477\frac{2.5}{180}$ = Conventional B. C. $3378\frac{5.5}{180}$, or Conventional A.M. $625\frac{12.5}{180}$. The Celestial Summer Solstice, representing the annual *Zero* for the time being, was then, in the one case at 18, and in the other at 15, Constellation Leo. In about $9\frac{1}{2}$ months, therefore, after quitting that point, in say true A. M. $477\frac{2.5}{180}$ —*i.e.*, in the first year of the first True A. M. Cycle of 1,460 years—the first *Ordinary* Annual Rising of Sirius would occur. The first *Extraordinary* Rising, however, would take place considerably sooner than 1,460 years from the new starting point; for, long before the lapse of 1,460 years, Progressive 1 Thoth, in the course of its successive annual tours round the Spheroid, while the first A.M. 1460-years' Cycle was in the making, would arrive at 30 Taurus, and there chime in with the Hēliacal Rising of Sōthis, if that be the correct place of its rising. Hence the First *Extraordinary* Rising would take place on that epochal day, thus in a manner inaugurating the so-called Sōthic Cycles. With a 365-days' Year (short of reality by about $\frac{1}{4}$ of a Spheroidal day, and therefore

possessing a Cycle of 1,460 years), this cyclically, would seem to have been as $284\frac{65}{72}$ days to 365 days = $1,139\frac{64}{72}$ years, after the setting out from 18 Leo aforesaid.

But what, now, are we to do with the balance of $477\frac{25}{180}$ (True) years, or $625\frac{125}{180}$ (Conventional) years, remaining over in our hands from our previous calculations connected with the old preceding Time-*Régimes*? Are we to cast them aside and forget them, and start our Time from a fresh epoch, or *Zero*, at 18 Leo? Or are we to incorporate them into a brand new series of Cycles commencing from then, using the new *Zero* merely for purposes internal to the new series? In short, where are we to place our A. M. *Zero* from now onwards? At True B. C. 4459 $\frac{8}{9}$? Or at Conventional B. C. 4004? Or at True B. C. 3526 $\frac{155}{180}$ (Conventional B. C. 3378 $\frac{55}{180}$), when the Celestial Summer Solstice, whence the Calendrical Year now started, was in 18 (or 15) Constellation Leo?

Whichever we do, we must clearly understand our position and our bearings; remembering, too, that our object is to get a result which will dovetail reasonably into our modern Conventional Chronology with its own special ideas regarding the epoch when the so-called Sôthic Cycles originated—and so test the general argument set forth in my pamphlet on *Ancient Romic Chronology*.

As representing Conventional Chronology, let us take R. S. Poole's "B. C. 2782" = A. M. 1222 = practically the A. M. 1221 $\frac{268}{480}$, or B. C. 2782 $\frac{212}{480}$, found in the pamphlet just mentioned.

Now $477\frac{25}{180} + 1139\frac{64}{72}$ = roughly 1,618 years; and this we must regard as the time that had elapsed from True B. C. 4459 $\frac{8}{9}$ up to the happening of the First Extraordinary Sôthic Rising.

But, as A. M. 1222 (Poole's B. C. 2782) is conventional, *i.e.*, based on an arbitrary *Zero* at B. C. 4004, we must reduce the above 1,618 years to a conventional basis, before attempting to compare our results.

B. C. $4459\frac{8}{9}$ minus B. C. 4004 = $455\frac{8}{9}$, or say 456, years. This 456 subtracted from 1618 = 1162 years; which therefore represents the time that had elapsed from Conventional B. C. 4004 to the Extraordinary Rising aforesaid.

Thus, whereas Poole represents the 1460th year before his First Sōthic Rising in "B. C. 1322" as B. C. 2782 = A. M. 1222; we, working from the epoch True B. C. $4459\frac{8}{9}$, but converting our result into Conventional style, arrive at the date A. M. 1162.

This and A. M. 1222 (or A. M. $1221\frac{268}{480}$), it is true, do not tally—the one being short of the other by 60 years. But, as we have been dealing with such immense periods, and with so very nebulous a medium, we can hardly expect to arrive at anything much nearer than that. Hence, I submit that my present line of argument, from True B. C. $4459\frac{8}{9}$, at point 30 Constellation Taurus on the Celestial Spheroid, down through the remote old Ptāh *régime*, the First Reign of Rā, the Osirian *régime*, and the Second Reign of Rā, to the end of the Hor-Shesū age, immediately preceding the Mēnēs epoch, and the line of argument that I adopted in *Ancient Romic Chronology*, are sufficiently harmonised.

As we have seen (on the basis on which I am reasoning), there was, on the A. M. Cycle-series, no earlier Cyclic Rising than this Rising in A. M. 1222, or thereabouts, for us to have any concern with; since, as already explained, retrogressing thus cyclically from "B. C. 2782," we would, in 1,222 years, be pulled up short by A. M. 0.

Now, when we arrive at such a date as B. C. 2782, a sort of feeling comes over us that we know in a measure where we are; and we begin to entertain the hope of being able to form at least an approximate estimate of the maximum duration of the obscure Hor-Shesū age. Nevertheless, we are gripped by an uncomfortable consciousness that no solid ground yet exists whereon to found any definite conclusion regarding the date when Mēnēs ascended the throne and formally inaugurated the new Calendrical System based on a Year taken as about $365\frac{1}{4}$ days or degrees in length.

Had there only been some known record on the monuments or elsewhere, revealing, or even hinting at, the occurrence of the first so-called Extraordinary Hēliacal Sōthic Rising, and also, in connection with that Rising, making some allusion, however vague, to Mēnēs; or any incident in his regnal period, however unimportant in itself, but of such a nature that some sort of inference from a chronological standpoint might be drawn from it; our difficulties would doubtless vanish like morning mist.

For the moment, however, we must call a halt, trusting that, amidst our cloudy and elusive surroundings, there may be lurking some capturable clue that will serve to invite, if not actually to guide, us once more upon our devious and uncertain way.

The Throne of Ptah and our Arctic Home

BY

H. BRUCE HANNAH

In "Ancient Romic Chronology" I sketched out a method whereby, by making use of the constant relation that appears to subsist between the officially reported data obtained from (*inter alia*) the old Egyptian monuments and the spheroidal divisions of the Cycle of 365 $\frac{1}{4}$ degrees, as starting say on 23rd September from the Terrestrial Equinox, *i.e.*, at a point arbitrarily called A.M. 0, all known ancient Romic History can be so placed on the Cycle as (given the indentivity of the Cycle itself) to afford us, in terms of our own system of chronology, a record of the past that promises to be exact and certain as soon as my methods have been clarified, tested, and worked out on a sound arithmetical basis. Indeed, I made bold to express my confidence that in the hands of skilled operators, and when finally perfected, my "discovery" (if so it may be called) will constitute a Search-Light by means of whose rays we shall be able to explore the depths of Antiquity at least as far back as the 3rd millennium. Nay, I looked forward to a time when, with the chronological sequence of the history of the ancient Dwellers on the Nile from that epoch, taken as a main-line, and with lateral synchronisations projected out towards Babylonian, Assyrian, Kretan, Mykenaeen, Hittite, Hellenic, Hebrew, Indian, and other great civilisations, we shall be able to re-construct the

Past on a scale and with a degree of elaboration and certitude respectively greater, more meticulous, and satisfactory than has ever been possible hitherto.

Also, there is reason to believe that, even in connection with Ancient Romie History, it will be possible, perhaps at no distant date, when we are more expert, to probe back, at least in a spirit of enlightened speculation, considerably further than the age above-mentioned. For, in the impressive but exceedingly nebulous profundities of ancient Romie Astronomical Legend (as, indeed, in all Mythologies), there are numerous intriguing indications of a time—nay, of several successively remoter times—when Calendars were in vogue constructed on bases very different from that, or those, with reference to which later Dynastical Khem seems to have regulated her almost beginningless succession of stately and orderly functions, sacred and secular. For example, there was a time—say in the days when the ever-visible circumpolar constellations Anūbis, or the Jackal, Ta-Urt, or the Hippopotamus, and the Thigh or Leg of Ptāh (respectively our modern Little Bear, Dragon, and Great Bear), were specially venerated—when Ptāh, the Opener of the Year, was regarded as the Fire-God and the Architect of the Universe, dwelling at the Celestial North Pole, where he had his “drill,” and when the Romiū took their time and their seasons from the stellar host as, following the mighty rotation of the Celestial Axis, or Dhrūva Yashti, they swept in their several courses across the heavenly vault—all, as it were, pivoting on the then Pole-Star (Saumya Dhrūva Tārā), or on the constellations above-named, as round a fixed centre.

In course of time, however, the Romiū, it is said, discovered that this majestic old Polar-Clock was unreliable. The “Fixed Centre” had become dislocated, Ptāh’s immemorial reign had been disturbed, his ancient

Throne shaken at its very foundations, and the seasons of the year could no longer be determined by the pathways of the stars and the recurrence of the Equinoxes and Solstices. In the words of George St. Clair—

“Ptah, the Divinity of the Pole, had obtained reverence because his throne appeared to be stable, and at the same time the centre from which all motion proceeded. Observation had shown that the pole itself was shifting, so that all the circles concentrated with it were dislocated. The stars of night revolved around a new pivot, and the stars of dawn and sunset were noticeably displaced with reference to the sun. The star which once rose heliacally had now ceased to do so, and was superseded by another. After 72 years the solstice had gained a full day upon the stars; and this had been done seven times over, so that the gain (or loss) was now a full week. Ptah and his sons had reigned for 500 years, and there was no more stability in the sons than in the father. It was time to make some change and attempt some reform; but why the system was allowed to last 500 years and no more, it is difficult to say. We can only say that it seems to have been so as a matter of fact, if we may judge from the frequent mention of the 7 sons of Ptah, and the adoption of 500 years as a cycle of time—a phoenix period ($7 \times 72 = 504$. Again $504 \times 52 = 26,208$ for a great year. The true length being 25,868, we see that 72 years is slightly in excess—and therefore, 504 slightly in excess)” (*Creation Records*, pp. 111, 112).

Thus, not only had the Pole shifted by 7 degrees, but there had occurred a corresponding displacement of the Equinoxes, or Vishuvats, and the Solstices, or Ayanāntas. The reason, of course, is well known to us; and I venture to express the belief that the old Romic priesthood understood it just as thoroughly—though it is commonly assumed that they did not. The plane of the Ecliptic (Ravi Mārga) is inclined to the plane of the Equinoxes, or Equinoctial Circle (Vishuvati Rekha) at an angle of $23^{\circ} 27' 15''$ from the vertical. That is, the Earth's Equatorial Belt cuts the Ecliptic (or level on which the Earth revolves round the Sun) slantways at the 2 Equinoctial points. In other words, the Terrestrial Axis has a tilt,

which, however, as the Earth goes round the Sun, maintains one constant direction, and if produced at what we call our North Pole, gives us the North Polar regions (Uttara Dhrūva) of the surrounding universe, regarded as a sphere, and usually called the Celestial or Sidereal Sphere (Bhagōla). Here is to be found the Pole-Star, or Saumya Dhrūva Tārā. But it is not always the same star. Like a pegtop when its spin is subsiding, the Earth has a wobble as it rotates and revolves—perchance caused by the gravitational pull of the Sun, as, in course of time, the impetus of the orbitally revolving Earth gradually weakens. It is, however, a slow and delicate eccentricity, and its effect only becomes apparent after the lapse of a very long period. That effect is that the northern end of the Terrestrial Axis points, not to one fixed spot in the polar regions of the Celestial Sphere, but successively to every imaginary tithi of a circle which it describes round that supposed fixed spot, or true Dhrūva. And, in the course of this slow circuit, the northern end of the Terrestrial Axis selects from time to time its own Pole-Star—being whatever star is nearest and most prominent for the particular tithi-stage which the circular movement has reached at any given epoch. Answering to this obscure shift in Polar latitudes, occurs the equally almost imperceptible phenomenon known as the Precession of the Equinoxes—a retrograde movement which proceeds at the rate of one entire Zodiacal Constellation or Rāsi in every period of $2155\frac{2}{3}$ years, *i.e.*, at the rate of one of the 30 degrees conventionally assigned to each Constellation or Rāsi in every period of $71\frac{7}{10}$ years. Thus, after 25,868 years (being $2155\frac{2}{3}$ years \times 12 Rāsis) the slowly retrogressing Equinoxes (and also the Solstices, and of course all the Seasons) achieve a complete round of the Spheroid or Cycle of 360 conventional degrees. It is to this backstep

of the Equinoxes, Solstices, and Seasons through a Zodiacal degree during a period of $71\frac{7}{90}$ years, that St. Clair is referring when he speaks of it as having recurred 7 times, as noticed by the Romiū, and of Ptāh, the Fire-God at the North Pole of the Celestial Sphere, having reigned with his Sons for (in round numbers) 500 years, or approximately 504 years, or more precisely $71\frac{7}{90} \times 7 = 502\frac{89}{90}$ years.

To-day the Celestial Vernal Equinox is somewhere in the 30th degree of the Zodiacal Constellation or Rāsi Aquarius (Kūmbha), and our Pole-Star for the time being is α Ursae Minoris, commonly called Polaris. Its successor, several thousands of years hence, will, it is thought, be Al Deramin (α Kephei); the next, Deneb (α Cygni); after that, the brilliant Vega; and so on, right round the Dhrūvic zone. On the other hand, some 4,000 years ago—say towards the close of the Tauric or Vrishabhan Era—the Pole-Star was Al Thūban (α Draconis). In the Gemini or Mithūnian Era the honour fell to some other glittering object in the Arctic circle traced in Dhrūvic regions by the wobbling northern end of the Terrestrial Axis or Yashti. And so on, again right round the Solar Zodiacal Belt, or Rāsi-Chakra, but in the other direction.

Thus, like the slow shift or retrogression of the Equinoxes, Solstices, and Seasons, round the entire Spheroid, or Zodiacal Circle of 360 conventional degrees, the successional reign of the various Pole-Stars, or Saumya Dhrūva Tārās, in the extreme northern regions of the Bhagōla, is completed in a grand period of about 25,868 years—sometimes called the Year of God.

As a result of what had been happening round the Throne of Ptāh, as observed by the ancient Romiū—

“both the rising and the setting sun had shifted place by 7° along the ecliptic. If then we could imagine the

equinoxes to be fixed, the stars have moved relatively by 7° ; and the practical effect is that on the side of the vernal equinox they have risen above the equator, and on the autumnal side have gone down.

These 7 degrees of ascent and of descent are seven steps, and they correspond to the positions of the 'seven eyes of the sun,' and therefore to the seven uraei, seven feathers, etc., which sometimes take the place of the eyes in the symbolism" (*Records of Creation*, p. 113).

Furthermore—

"As Ptāh may be said to have stepped backward 7° , in the persons of his sons—the Pole having shifted from the Hippopotamus constellation into the adjacent Crocodile—the solstice goddess was bound to keep pace, and retire along the ecliptic circle. Thus Sekhet also becomes associated with the Crocodile" (*Ibid*, p. 118).

Something, then, having gone wrong with the Polar-Clock—Ptāh's ancient throne having been displaced—and the sun and stars having got out of their old harmony—the Romiū, we are told, found themselves confronted with the necessity of re-constructing their Calendrical system. The question arose—was this to be effected on a Sidereal or a Solar basis? Their choice fell on the latter, and thereupon the Orb of Day began his reign under the well-known name of Rā.

When was the age of Ptāh as ruler of the seasons? And at what era or epoch was his ancient reign succeeded by that of Rā? Can we put both or either of these upon our Cycle, and have we any means of identifying the Cycles themselves?

In attempting to find an answer to these questions we remember that the famous old Polar Fire-God is said to have had a consort—the above-named Sekhet—sometimes styled "Sekhet, greatly beloved of Ptāh." She is invariably represented as a lion-headed woman, whence we may reasonably conclude that she was simply a deified personification of the Summer Solstice, when that solstice was in the Zodiacal Constellation or Rāsi of Leo (Sinha), the then place of the production of Ptāh's fire (or, as the

old Tigris-Euphrates calendars put it, Āb Āb-gar, "Fire that makes fire"), and where she is therefore said poetically to have had her couch. That being so, the Ptāh-Sekhet age would seem to have synchronised with the era when the Celestial Vernal Equinox (Mahāvishūpa Saṃkrānti) was passing through the Constellation or Rāsi of Taurus (Meṣ-Rā, or Vrishabha) from its 30th to its 1st degree, at the rate of 1° in every $71\frac{17}{90}$ years, or $2,155\frac{2}{3}$ years in all, *i.e.*, when the Calendrical Year opened at the commencement of Terrestrial Spring, with the sun *apparently* in that constellation, as indicated by the conventional pointer on the revolving epicycle that represents the changing seasons of the terrestrial year—the first point of *Sign* Ariēs. On the opposite side of the spheroidal diagram, the Celestial Autumnal Equinox (Jala Vishūpa Saṃkrānti), when its season came round, would have been shown as similarly passing through the Constellation or Rāsi of Scorpio (Vrischika=for the Babylonians and Assyrians, Apin-am-a). The Celestial Winter Solstice would have been in Constellation Aquarius (Kūmbha=As a-an). All this indicates the period *circa* B.C. $4449\frac{8}{9}$ — $2304\frac{2}{9}$.

In those distant days various temples in Khem, or Tomeri, were so constructed and orientated that in the mornings or in the evenings the Equinoctial Sun shone into them down a passage leading to a "Holy of Holies" where it was reflected in a mirror. These reflections were called the "Eyes of the Sun," and, as representing the rays of the evening sun at the time of the Celestial Autumnal Equinox, they seem to have been specially associated with the name of Hathor—Het-herū, the "House of Horus"—goddess of the sky wherein Horus the Sun-God rose and set. Corresponding to the 7 shifts of the Equinox—moving naturally in unison with the 7 shifts of the Pole, or 7 Pygmy (cubit) sons of Ptāh on

the *smaller* circle in Dhrūvic regions—1 degree or day for every $71\frac{1}{2}\%$ years—it has been suggested that there were 7 Hathors, the original position from which the first step was taken making of course 8 (*Records of Creation*, pp. 122, 123).

But was B.C. 4459 $\frac{8}{9}$ —2304 $\frac{2}{3}$ really the age of Ptāh ? Or was it only the age when the Romiū of ancient Khem, having preserved and being still dominated by memories of the Age of Ptāh, still measured their time and held their supposedly seasonal functions with reference to a Calendar originally based on the facts underlying those memories, but never re-constructed even when the facts had changed and were glaringly out of accord with the Calendar ?

I submit that the latter is probably the more correct of these two points of view.

Much as I admire St. Clair's writings on these recondite subjects, his remarks on this particular problem of the Ptāh-Sekhet Age do not commend themselves to me as altogether satisfactory. Ptāh and his Sons, he tells us, had reigned for approximately 500 years, and because of the altered aspect of the heavens at the end of that period, which was no longer in accord with the principles whereon the chronological and calendrical system of the ancient Romiū was based, they decided that "it was time to make some change and attempt some reform." At the same time he admits that it is difficult to see why the system had been allowed to last 500 years and no more. Not only is this exceedingly true, but it is impossible, on the data supplied, to tell when the Reign of Ptāh, and the Romic calendrical system used in connection therewith, either began or ended, except that I have shown that, regarded merely as a tradition still practically dominant in ancient Khem—though in days when the kosmic conditions whose

memory it preserved had completely changed—it is clearly associable with the Tauric, Meṣ-Rāic, or Vrishabhan Era—say *circa* B.C. $4459 \frac{8}{9}$ — $2304 \frac{2}{9}$. This, however—far removed though it is from us—could not really have been the Age itself of the Reign of Ptāh, which, as we shall presently see, was probably much remoter.

And on what does St. Clair found his statement, belief, or suggestion, that—wherever it may have been, in the air, from a cyclical point of view—the Reign of Ptāh did last approximately 500 years and no more? Merely “the frequent mention of the 4 Sons of Ptāh, and the adoption of 500 years as a cycle of time—a phoenix period” (p. 112). Evidently he is obsessed with the number 7. The 500 years’ cycle is merely a mental emanation, because it is a multiple of 7 and some other number.

This mention of 7 in connection with the Sons of Ptāh is, however, not by any means an isolated reference to, or application of, that particular number. Not only in ancient Romic Mythology, but also in the Mythologies of many other races, it, and several other numbers too, *e.g.*, 8, 9, and 10, may be found in a variety of mystic associations—perhaps puzzling in themselves, when considered apart from their common clue, and sometimes even apparently mixed up, but all readily understandable when we recall the fact that the changes observable, after the lapse of a sufficient period, either at the North Pole of the Celestial Sphere, or at the Equinoctial and Solstitial points, or in the intervening terrestrial seasons, or in the mutual relations subsisting between the positions and movements of the Stars and those of the Sun, are all special effects, in their own times and places, of *one grand kosmic movement* which relates and explains them all to and by each other; that these various numbers—7, 8, 9, 10, etc.—are merely the

different ways in which a description, record or tradition of such effects came to be enshrined in the legendary reminiscences or Mythologies of Antiquity; and also that the wonderful array of more or less mysterious divine names, masculine and feminine—such as Ptāh, Sebek or Sobk, Sekhet, Hathor, and so forth—were similarly nothing but deified personifications in Khem of some of the more prominent and important of the same kosmic phenomena—mere creations of Romic poetic fancy, but all ultimately referable to the same great basic verities connected with the constitution and functions of the universe, more especially away back in the cloudy and unprobable depths of almost forgotten Time.

A better solution of the problem of the Age of the Reign of Ptāh is suggested by Mr. Bāl Gangādhār Tilak in his fascinating book *The Arctic Home in the Vedas*. Or rather, it would seem to be possible to deduce one from, or build one up around, certain shrewd and illuminating remarks of his on the subject of the seven-fold, nine-fold, ten-fold and other divisions and classifications that are to be found referred to in the various Vedas, and the disconcerting way in which, in different Samhitās, or different passages of the same Samhitā, Deities, Celestial Phenomena, Sacrificers, and divers mythological persons, animals, and objects are alluded to, in association now with one of such divisions or classifications and again with another. Really it is all very simple, being easily explainable by reference to the fact that the kosmic conditions for an observer stationed exactly at the Terrestrial North Pole are necessarily very different from those noticed by an observer stationed in what Tilak calls the Circum-Polar regions, or tracts of territory, between the North Pole and the Arctic Circle further to the south. Moreover, these latter territories may be

regarded as consisting of different zones in various degrees of proximity to the Pole. Naturally, in those zones that are furthest away from the Pole, the kosmic conditions observable will be noticeably different from those observable in the zones that lie further north. For instance—

I. THE POLAR CHARACTERISTICS.

- (1) The sun rises in the south.
- (2) The stars of the northern hemisphere, always above the horizon, circle round the heavens in their respective planes, completing one revolution every 24 hours. The southern, or lower stellar world, remains ever invisible.
- (3) The year=1 long day and 1 long night, each lasting 6 months.
- (4) As the sun rises and sets only once a year, there is only 1 morning and 1 evening. But the twilight, whether of morning or of evening, lasts continuously for about 2 months, or 60 periods of 24 hours each. Moreover, it moves round and round the horizon, completing 1 circuit in every 24 hours—hence, altogether, as regards the dawn, displaying 30 distinct flushes, which, multiplied by 12, is perhaps the origin of the conventional cycle of 360 degrees. This stage of dawn and evening-twilight continues till the sun appears above the southern horizon ; and then, for 6 months, the sun itself ²revolves round and round overhead, just like the stars, completing 1 circuit in every 24 hours.

II. THE CIRCUM-POLAR CHARACTERISTICS.

- (1) The sun is always south of the zenith of the observer, as in the Temperate Zone.

- (2) Some of the stars are always visible at night, and circle round and round overhead. The remainder rise and set, as in the Temperate Zone, but sweep across the sky in more oblique courses.
- (3) The year has 3 distinct aspects—
 - (a) One long continuous night, at the time of the Winter Solstice, and lasting for a period greater than 24 hours and less than 6 months, according to latitude, *i.e.*, longer in the northern zones, and shorter in the southern ;
 - (b) One long continuous day to match—*i.e.*, shorter in the more northerly latitudes, and longer in the more southerly—occurring at the time of the Summer Solstice ; and,
 - (c) A succession of ordinary days and nights during the rest of the year—nycthemera, or a day and a night together, each never exceeding a period of 24 hours.

N. B.—The day, after the long continuous night, or the night after the long continuous day, is at first considerably shorter than its predecessor, but it gradually increases until it develops into its own long continuous period.

- (4) The dawn, at the close of the long continuous night, lasts for several days, but its duration and magnitude are proportionally less than at the North Pole, according to latitude. In zones near the North Pole the revolving morning light is observable during the greater part of the duration of the dawn-period. The other dawns—*i.e.*, those between ordinary days and nights—last only for a few hours, as in the Temperate Zone. The sun, when above the horizon during

the long continuous day, revolves overhead round the heaven, as at the Pole, but in oblique, not horizontal circles; while during the long continuous night he is entirely below the horizon. During the remainder of the year he rises and sets, staying above the horizon for a part of 24 hours, greater or less according to his position in the ecliptic.

Thus, if we assume that there was once a time in the very remote past when humanity, or at least some specific division of humanity—progenitors, let us further assume, of some of the culture-races known to history—was dwelling at and around the North Pole, some exactly at the Pole, and others in the various imaginary zones called by Tilak the Circum-Polar regions, it is clear that the kosmic conditions or characteristics daily and nightly observed by them throughout the year—though very different from those with which we and our historical ancestors or predecessors are and were familiar—could not by any means have been all alike. For the communities settled at or within a few degrees of the Pole itself, the phenomenal aspects of the year would have been those briefly set forth above, under the head of “The Polar Characteristics”; while, for the communities dwelling further south, in the successive zones of the Circum-Polar regions, the annual experiences would have been in the nature of those adumbrated under the head of “The Circum-Polar Characteristics.” All such communities would have been more or less acquainted with each others’ phenomenal environment; but clearly the ethnic mind of each community would have been specially impressed with the *differentiae* more particularly characteristic of its own zone or latitude. Does it not follow that, in after ages, and under vastly different skies, the traditions, legends, and mythologies of the

descendants of these variously situated groups would have reflected the early experiences of the race, each in their own way; and that, in the sacred books and other surviving records, say of the ancient Romiū, the Babylonians, and the Indians, in addition to direct references to natural phenomena, we must expect to find allusions of a different order—specific recurring numbers in various applications, names of gods, goddesses, and heroes, and tales of the origins, doings, and fates of these latter—but all merely an ingenious and perchance poetical method, deliberately or unconsciously adopted, of enshrining the memory of actual phenomena once daily and nightly witnessed, or at least discussed, in Dhrūvic and Circum-Dhrūvic regions, though eventually metamorphosed and obscured, nay, as actual phenomena, well-nigh or even wholly forgotten, under the guise of deified or glorified personifications and other mythological and literary fancies? And, if some of these allusions and metamorphoses bewilder us rather badly—either because they are hopelessly inconsistent with the established Natural order as known to us now, or as it appears in the pages of what we call history, or because the mention made of certain numbers in different records, or in separate passages of the same record, seems to be contradictory, or because the associations in connection with which deified or glorified personifications, mythological characters, animals, objects and so forth are mentioned are often disconcertingly mixed up, what is there to be surprised at?

For instance, however accurately any particular culture-race of what we style historical times may eventually have estimated the length of the Year, whether on a solar or a sidereal basis, at the back of the Calendrical or Chronological Systems of all such culture-races is almost certain to be found some indication of the idea of a conventional Cycle of 360 days or degrees—and this

simply because, even though they may have forgotten the connection, yet, somehow or other, in that particular form, in all their racial archives (notably in those of Khem and in the Rig-Veda) a record has in fact survived hinting, and more than hinting, at some immensely remote era when their ancestors (or the ancestors of those from whom they derived their cultural heritage) must have been dwelling either at or in the vicinity of the North Pole, or else in the surrounding zonal regions above referred to, where, if not actually *witnesses* of the striking and ineffable phenomenon of the 30 Polar Dawns to which the otherwise arbitrary and inexplicable conception of the conventional Cycle of 360 degrees seems ultimately traceable, they had at least been more or less well *acquainted* with it.

Furthermore, as regards those of the archæan dwellers in Arctic Regions whose home-lands had been situated, not at the North Pole itself, but in the various more southerly zones that nevertheless lay within the Arctic Circle, it is clear that, though all probably *acquainted* with the Year of 6 months' continuous day and 6 months' night which is characteristic of the territories situated exactly at and near the Pole, and reminiscences whereof are certainly enshrined in the tradition regarding the half-yearly "Night of the Gods" found everywhere in Sanskrit literature, and also in the Avesta, they must have been very much more *familiar* with a Year whose continuous day, plus its subsequent succession of nyctemera, or ordinary days and nights closely following each other, made up a sunshine-period of 7, 8, 9, 10, or 11 months, according to the latitude of the zone wherein each particular homeland was situated—that one which lay next to the home-land at the Pole itself having known the year with the stretch of 7 months' sun-shine, and the one which was bounded on the south by the Temperate

Zone (where the year has 12 months of sunshine) having enjoyed the year say of 11 months' sunshine.

This is the reason why, with reference to the first mentioned number, 7—though in the *Çatapatha Brāhmaṇa* the Ādityas (which may be regarded both as Suns and as Month-Gods) are identified with the 12 months of the Year as ordinarily known to us, while in the *Upanishads* their number is also given as 12, and in post-Vedic literature they are everywhere said to be 12, answering to the 12 months just mentioned—yet in more ancient records, e.g., the *Rig-Veda*, they, as also their associated priests, are frequently referred to in a variety of connections as 7, which, in the legend of Aditi, is expressly stated to have been the oldest number of the Ādityas. True, there is also a vague allusion to 8 sons of Aditi (meaning 8 Suns, or Sun-Gods, or Months of Sunshine); a reference to one of these under the name of Mārtaṇḍa; and an obscure alternative reading regarding, in the one case his death and rejection, and, in the other, his having been “set aside for birth and death”: but, in the *Çatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, it is explained that 7 alone of Aditi's sons are styled “Devāḥ Ādityāḥ” (the gods called the Ādityas), and that Mārtaṇḍa, the 8th, “was born undeveloped, whereupon the Ādityas created man and the animal kingdom out of him.” Surely, at least from one point of view, this is nothing but the fanciful way in which we may expect the vague memory to have survived, through the lapse of Time and its various vicissitudes, of some fluctuating attempt at orderly civilised existence, or some unsuccessful essay towards the establishment of a Calendrical System (probably on an astrological basis), on the part of a community whose homeland, during one of the remotest eras known in Vedic times, had been located near the North Pole, in a zone where the period of Continuous-Sunshine during the

year was *on the borderland* between 7 months and 8 months ?

Again, does not what I have said above, regarding a sunshine-period of 7, 8, 9, 10, or 11 months in Boreal Latitudes, enable us to appreciate under a particularly interesting light the otherwise puzzling fact that—as shown by the very name “December” (Latin *decem*. Sanskrit *dashan*, 10 ; Sanskrit *vāra*, period), and the names of those other months, “Quintilis” (old July), “Sextilis” (old August), “September,” “October,” and “November”—the ancient Roman, and perhaps Etruscan, Calendar must once have consisted of only 10 months, ending with December, though we cannot imagine either of those grim old communities, any more than we can imagine ourselves, being ignorant that the natural year was really 2 months longer ; or else that in early Italia the year in those parts opened at Spring, not with what was afterwards called January, but with March—thus pointing to what are now January and February as having originally represented the 2 months of which the real year would otherwise have been docked ?

Hence also, in connection with the *Satras*, or continuous round of Sacrifices, or Offerings to the Gods, performed throughout the year (both natural and calendrical) in Vedic times, and with the fact that it was mainly with an eye to the celebration of these solemn functions in strict conformity with the Samvatsara, that the Rshis constructed their Calendar, showing Vishuvān as the central (though isolated) day of the Satra, thus dividing it into 2 equal periods, just as at Sharad, or Autumn, the natural year is similarly divided by the Vishuvat, or Equinox—not only do we learn that the Calendrical Year must once have opened at the Celestial Autumnal Equinox, *i.e.*, terrestrially speaking, at the commencement of Vasanta, or Spring, with the Sun at the Celestial Vernal

Equinox, or Vishuvat, *i.e.*, apparently at the first point or degree of the Rāsi, or Zodiacal Constellation, immediately opposite the first point or degree of Vasanta, and that originally the Devāyana, Devapatha, or Devaloka Ceremonies always began at that point, and continued throughout the succeeding 6 months, during the seasons Vasanta, Grishma, and Varshā (or time of the big monsoon or rains)—when, for the next six months, *i.e.*, throughout Sharad, Hemanta, and Shishira, they were followed by the Pitriyana ceremonies; but also that the months, whether of the Samvatsara or the Satra, were often spoken of mystically or poetically as “Cows” (whence the expression *Gavām-Ayanam*, or “Cows’ Walk,” referring to the Satra), and that this round of ceremonies might, with equal efficacy, be completed either in 10 months or in 12 months, at the option of the sacrificer. True, there are passages in the *Vedanga Jyotisha* and elsewhere representing the Year as opening with the Dakshina Ayanānta, or Winter Solstice, of the Celestial Sphere, and all Devā Ceremonies as performable only during the Uttarāyana, or period of the year extending from the Winter Solstice, when the Sun begins to north, to the Uttara Ayanānta, or Celestial Summer Solstice, when it begins to south. But this appears to be explainable. The Equinoxes and the Solstices leave one Zodiacal Constellation or Rāsi for another at intervals of about $2,155\frac{2}{3}$ years, *i.e.*, they shift at the rate of $71\frac{7}{90}$ years for every Constellational degree. But, as we know in our own experience to-day, even when the Equinox has passed well out of one Constellation with which it has been associated for more than 2,000 years, and is really moving in the next Constellation, though astronomers, scholars, and the like may be aware of the fact, an indefinitely considerable time always elapses before it is *popularly realised*, and certainly before Calendars are

formally reconstructed in harmony with the altered kosmic position. Let us apply this practical thought to the subject in hand.

It has been suggested (see Tilak's remarks in *Orion*, pp. 26, 27) that after a certain time the Calendrical Opening of the Year was deliberately changed from the original Celestial Vernal Equinox to the Celestial Winter Solstice: that this change must have been effected long before the Celestial Vernal Equinox was in the Krittikās, or Pleiadēs, *i.e.*, long before the close of the Taurus or Vrishabha Era (which was say *circa* True B. C. 2304 $\frac{2}{3}$); and that eventually, as a natural consequence, the use of the words Uttarāyana and Dakshināyana came in to disturb the old associations connected with the Devāyana and Pitriyana Ceremonies, as originally and properly commencing at the Vishuvats or Equinoxes. In my opinion—though of course I speak with diffidence—there was no such change at all. What really happened was, I suggest, this. Every point on the Cycle or Spheroid that has been a Celestial Vernal Equinox, when the Year opens at the commencement of terrestrial Vasanta, with the Sun apparently in the Rāsi shown immediately opposite on the other side of the Zodiacal diagram, must once—*i.e.*, $2155\frac{2}{3} \times 3 = 6467$ years previously—have marked the position of a Celestial Winter Solstice. Thus, with reference to what is now our *conventional* Vernal Equinox for the Celestial Sphere (the point between Constellations Ariēs and Piscēs), our Celestial Winter Solstice, conventionally, though not really, is now at the point between Constellations Gemini and Cancer. When the Celestial Vernal Equinox was in or about the first degree of Constellation Taurus (say True B. C. 2304 $\frac{2}{3}$), the Celestial Winter Solstice was between Constellations Capricornus and Aquarius, or thereabouts. When the Equinox was about the first degree of Constellation Gemini (say True

B. C. $4459\frac{8}{9}$), the Winter Solstice was between Constellations Aquarius and Piscēs, or thereabouts. When the Equinox was about the first degree of Constellation Cancer (say True B. C. $6615\frac{5}{9}$), the Winter Solstice was at the point where the Celestial Vernal Equinox is now *conventionally* supposed to be, *i.e.*, between Constellations Piscēs and Ariēs, *i.e.*, Rāsis Mina and Mesha—though it is actually somewhere in the beginning of Aquarius, or Rāsi Kūmbha. And so on, backwards into Antiquity. Now, the Vedic Ṛshis are said to have introduced the words Uttarāyana and Dakshināyana because they thought the Year opened at the Celestial Winter Solstice. Well, if we assume these Ṛshis to have been living in or about B. C. $2304\frac{2}{9}$ aforesaid, their Celestial Winter Solstice must *actually* have been between Constellations Capricornus and Aquarius, *i.e.*, Rāsis Makara and Kūmbha. Nay, we may take it that, in the popular mind of the masses for whom the hymns were chanted—assuming that the masses ever thought about these things—the conventional point for the Solstice still continued to be the *older* one between Constellations Sagittarius and Capricornus, *i.e.*, Rāsis Dhanūs and Makara. Neither of these points, however, could have stood for the kind of Winter Solstice referred to in the Vedānga and the Sūtras. The point there in mind must have been one in or earlier than Taurus (Vrishabha) on the Zodiacal diagram. Suppose then the point meant was the one between Taurus and Ariēs, *i.e.*, Rāsis Vrishabha and Mesha. When the Celestial Winter Solstice was there, where on the Spheroid was the Celestial Vernal Equinox, marking the opening of the Year and of the Satra? It must have been between Constellations Cancer and Leo, *i.e.*, Rāsis Karka and Sinha—thus indicating True B. C. $8771\frac{2}{9}$, or thereabouts.

Or suppose that—as is more probable—the point meant was the one between Constellations Gemini and

Taurus, *i.e.*, Rāsis Mithūna and Vrishabha. In that case the Celestial Vernal Equinox must have lain between Constellations Leo and Virgo, *i.e.*, Rāsis Sinha and Kanyā—which indicates True B. C. $10926 \frac{8}{9}$, or thereabouts.

But here we are hardly concerned with eras so remote as either of these: for the writers of the Vedānga and the Sūtras were thinking of the Winter Solstice under notice, not as in its nature a Solstice at all, but as the point *at which the Year opened*, *i.e.*, really as a Celestial Vernal Equinox which had somehow or other managed to get referred to as a Solstice. When then—as must have been the case once—the Devā Ceremonies did in fact commence at that particular so-called Solstice, wherever it was, it was not because of the character which the point eventually acquired as the *traditional* place of the Celestial Winter Solstice for the Vedic Āryas of a later era. It was because at one time—say *circa* True B. C. $2304 \frac{2}{9}$ aforesaid, or even the earlier True B. C. $4459 \frac{8}{9}$, or thereabouts—it had been the point actually occupied by the Celestial Vernal Equinox.

When, therefore, the Vedānga Jyotisha and the Shrauta Sūtras allude, as they do, to the Year opening with the Winter Solstice, may they not reasonably be taken to have been speaking in terms of a point (either the one between Vrishabha and Mesha, or the earlier one between Mithūna and Vrishabha), which was vaguely known, say about B. C. 2000, to have been at different times *in the remoter past* both the point of the Celestial Winter Solstice and the point of the Celestial Vernal Equinox, but which, when it in fact opened the Year and the Satra, was only nominally and vaguely, *i.e.*, traditionally associated with the former phenomenon? Likewise, when Jaimini and others tell us, as they do, that all Devā Ceremonies should be performed only during the Uttarāyana, must they not be taken to have really

meant during the Devāyana beginning at the Celestial Vernal Equinox for the time being, and to have made use of the word Uttarāyana merely because of the incidental verbal implications necessarily arising from the mistaken way in which a once Solstitial point, which had since become an Equinoctial point, actual or conventional, was referred to or regarded in an obscure connection for which the older terminology was no longer supposed to be appropriate?

To sum up. The basic idea regarding the division of the Year and the Satra into a first half and a second half remained essentially the same, but, owing to the Equinoctial and Solstitial shifts (corresponding of course with shifts at the Pole, the realm of Ptāh), and a habit that grew up of expressing the old idea in terms of the new conditions, a mental confusion arose regarding that old idea, which was more a confusion of words than anything else. The Calendrical Year originally opened, and always properly continued to open, at the first point or asterism (nakshatra) of Vasanta, or the terrestrial Spring, when, looking through the Sun, across the Zodiacal diagram, that point coincided, on the opposite side of the diagram, with the corresponding Constellation or Rāsi, at the place of the Celestial Vernal Equinox. And the Satra did the same: for it and the Year were organically connected—a connection which was supposed to be mirrored faithfully by the Calendar for the time being, but was in fact seldom so mirrored, because of the ever ceaseless Precession of the Equinoxes and all that followed therefrom. As for the muddle that took place over the expressions Devāyana-Pitriyana and Uttarāyana-Dakshināyana, and their respective associations—it was all merely a matter of one set of verbal misapplications following naturally, if not necessarily, upon another.

Now, curiously enough—to revert to Romic theogonies and mythologies—Hathor also was closely associated with the Cow in a variety of ways. The animal was specially sacred to her. She was represented on the monuments with the ears, and sometimes with the face, of a heifer; while she frequently appears as woman, with horns as well as a disk upon her head. She was pre-eminently the goddess of the Mountain of the West (Celestial West?); and at Abū Simbel there is a carving of the fore-part of a Cow emerging from that Mountain. A similar representation is to be found at Deir-el-Bahri. Hence she was styled Mistress of Amenta, the Sub-horizonal or Under-World, which is entered by the Setting Sun, and corresponds to all that part of his annual path which lies between the Celestial Winter Solstice and the Equinoxes. From Mariette we learn that she was also known as “*La maitresse du commencement del’an*”—doubtless referring to the fact that the terrestrial Autumnal Equinox and the Celestial Vernal Equinox are situated on the same (right hand) side of the Zodiacal diagram, or that she was impartially associated with both Equinoxes. In the *Book of the Dead*, Chapter cviii, she is mentioned, in association with Tmū, Sobk, and the Lord of Bakhan, as Mistress of the Sunset; and it is stated that heaven rests upon Bakhan’s Mount—possibly meaning that when the *Book* was composed the Equinoxes were regarded as specially important kosmically. This is quite understandable: for, as time flew on, and each Precession day of $71\frac{7}{90}$ years made another difference of 1 degree in the Sun’s position, the aspect of the stellar regions would have changed conformably, the Solstices and the Equinoxes would have moved on proportionally, and the Sun’s Eye, or Evening Equinoctial Sun, duly reflected in the temple, say at Ān (On), or Hēliopolis, would have served as a particularly convenient register. In hieroglyphics the “determinative”

for the Mount above-mentioned was an Eye—alluding apparently to Hathor as an Eye of the Sun—and, in the later texts, it was either a Woman or a Cow in the act of parturition! An extraordinary fancy? Yes, seemingly: but it obviously refers to the birth of the New Year, viewed celestially, and it reminds us at once of the singular 3-days' Pravargya Ceremony of the old Vedic ritual, spoken of in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, in connection with the Autumnal Equinox, and which mystically symbolised the preservation of the Sun, or Year, at that point, with a view to its triumphant re-generation later on, after the point of the Winter Solstice had been duly passed. In the same connection we recall also the Rig-Vedic *mantra* used on the occasion of this queer old ceremony. After a reference to the path of the Sun, described as a chariot drawn by horses, it speaks of the 7 milking the 1, and the 2 creating the 5. What does all this mean? Tilak thinks the 1 is the Dawn, which is "milked" by the 7 (the 7 *hotris*, or the 7 rivers), thus producing the 2 (Day and Night), whence finally arise the 5 Seasons. This, however, seems to me unsatisfactory. I would rather regard the cryptic utterance as a reference to the 5 days by which the original Cycle of 360 Polar degrees fell short of the Solar Year, and to a tradition that this shortage had become realised in that more northerly Circum-Polar zone where the Year consisted in part of a Sunshine-Period of 7 months. But any suggested explanation can, of course, be only guess-work. Finally, Hathor, it appears, was also worshipped as a "Spotted Cow"—an allusion, doubtless, to the same mystic number 7—but she is likewise represented as the goddess of the 6, in which connection she was associated or identified with the Fates who presided over birth and destiny; and strange to say, or rather naturally enough, she was even correlated with Ta-Urt, the Hippopotamus Goddess of the

North, who was looked upon as the Mother of the Gods, and, under the name of Api, Apt, or Apet, personified the idea of the Cradle of Life. What is this but a reminiscence, under forms and applications suited to the genius of the ancient Romiū, of the same old tradition as that preserved in the Rig-Veda and other Samhitās respecting the 7 sons of Aditi, and in particular of an 8th, named Mārtaṇḍa, who was specially “set aside for birth and death?”

Now, in view of all these various applications of the number 7, and a vague, mysterious 6—sometimes to the first 7 degrees of the little circle in Uttara Dhrūvic regions where, as it were round the Throne of Ptāh, the changing Saumya Dhrūva Tārās, throughout a cyclic period of 25,868 years, take up their successive positions, each say for a reign of $2,155\frac{2}{3}$ years' duration; sometimes to the 7 (or 8) different positions of the Evening Sun at the time of the Autumnal Equinox, as said to have been observed by the early Romiū; and sometimes to the 7 months of Continuous Sunshine characteristic of the zone in Circum-Polar regions that lay next to the territories describable as the North-Pole itself; from which we see that they are all merely different aspects of one great kosmical truth—merely also different effects, variously represented and recorded, of one great kosmical metamorphosis or movement: is there any compelling reason why we should assume, with St. Clair, that at some memorable epoch the ancient Romiū realised the fact that the Equinoxes and Solstices had (more impressively than they had always been shifting) shifted 7 degrees, corresponding to 7 similar shifts at the Pole, that the Stars had followed suit, and were no longer in their old traditional harmony with the Sun, and that, because this displacement had been one of 1 degree at a time, repeated 7 times, therefore the Reign of Ptāh must be taken to

have lasted approximately 500 years? I see no such reason, unless we accept that given by St. Clair, *i.e.*, the significance of the number 7 as connected with "the Sons of Ptāh." But has that any particular and compelling significance here? True, it is quite *possible* that the ancient Romiū did at some time notice that the phenomena referred to had occurred 7 times in succession. But what *particular* 7 times in succession was it? What was the date of the first observed shift of 1 degree; and what was the date of the last? We have an illimitable field of choice: for these slow but profound changes had been taking place throughout antiquity, and they are going on now! It may of course be said, Suppose we interpret the mystery of this much stressed number 7 by reference, not to Ptāh or his Sons at all—not to anything occurring either at the Pole or at the Solstices and Equinoxes—but to the conditions above mentioned as prevailing in the Circum-Polar zone which enjoyed a specially characteristic period of 7 months' Continuous-Sunshine in the course of the year. The answer is that, even then, it is all but part of one mighty whole—and that, the same as the whole of which the "Sons of Ptāh," and the various associations in which, under the names Hathor, Sekhet, and so forth, the shifts at the Equinoxes and Solstices found expression, were part. Admitted: but still, even so are we any nearer an answer to the question, with what Age are we to identify the so-called Reign of Ptāh? Tilak's enlightened conjectures would seem to remain the "Farthest North" to which we are likely to attain in pursuit of that quest.

Possibly, however, something in the way of explanation may also be gleaned from certain old charts in the Rameseum at El Aqsar. There, a Crocodile, erect and overshadowing, is depicted hovering behind Ta-Urt, the Hippopotamus Goddess of the North

—as though an older traditional aspect of the Polar Constellations were giving place to some other aspect—obviously suggesting the emergence into view of some new area of Dhrūvic space into which the slowly circling succession of Pole-Stars was known to be shifting. Here again we are confronted with the same mysterious number; for Sebek, Sevekh, or Sobk, the ancient Romic name for the celestial or mythological crocodile, literally signified “Seven,” or “the Seventh.” The 7th Son of Ptāh is in fact vaguely identified with the Crocodile, and the conclusion that the rejection of the older Sidereal or Ptāh-Calendar, in favour of a Solar Calendar associated with the name of Rā, must therefore have occurred at the end of the alleged succession of 7 one-degree shifts above referred to, may possibly have something in it, because, in the *Book of the Dead*, Chapter XVII, all the 7 Sons of Ptāh together are spoken of as “the Crocodiles.” In other words, the great beginningless and endless kosmic movement that had been going on throughout antiquity was somehow or other supposed to have reached its 7th stage; and that shows that at some particular epoch in Romic history the fact, or even a belief in the fact, must have attracted special attention. Do any of the other records of ancient Khem support this view?

Under the 12th Dynasty, from a materialistic point of view at least, Khem enjoyed exceeding prosperity, and some of the kings of this great line, notably Amenemhat III and several of his predecessors, were renowned for the extensiveness and magnificence of their building enterprises. Ammon, Amon, or Amen, the Rām (Ariēs = Indian Mesha = “Babylonian” Sara-Zigger, or Bar-zigger), was then the presiding Solar Deity of the land. In particular, in connection with the district known now as the Fayūm and the vast body of water

called by the Greeks Lake Moeris, Breasted informs us that—

“The kings of the Twelfth Dynasty conceived the plan of controlling the inflow and outflow for the benefit of the irrigation system then in force. At the same time they undertook vast retention walls inside the Fayūm at the point where the waters entered, in order to reclaim some of the area of the Fayūm for cultivation. The earlier kings of the Twelfth Dynasty began this process of reclamation, but it was especially Amenemhet III who so extended this vast wall that it was at last probably about twenty seven miles long”...“This then was the famous late Moeris of the classic geographers and travellers.”

“The rich and flourishing province recovered from the lake was doubtless royal domain, and there are evidences that it was a favourite abode with the kings of the latter part of the Twelfth Dynasty. A prosperous town, known to the Greeks as Crocodilopolis, or Arsinoë, with its temple to Sobk, the crocodile god, had already arisen in the new province”.....“the Fayūm had become the most prominent centre of the royal and governmental life of this age; and its great god Sobk was rivalling Amon in the regard of the dynasty, whose last representative bore the name Sobk-nefru-Re, which contains that of the god. The name of the god also appeared in a whole series of Sobk-hoteps of the next dynasty” (*History of Egypt*, pp. 193-195).

Furthermore, from *Creation Records*, p. 108, we get the interesting and important fact that “The god Sebek is represented with a crocodile’s head and ram’s horns”—which shows the connection of the myth of the Celestial Crocodile with the opening of the Amon age.

Now, according to the calculations in my recent pamphlet on *Ancient Romic Chronology*, the period of the 12th Dynasty was approximately A.M. $1650\frac{349}{480}$ — $1861\frac{365}{480}$ = B.C. $2353\frac{431}{480}$ — $2142\frac{115}{480}$. If, then, we raise this by 500 years, we arrive roughly at B.C. $2853\frac{151}{480}$ as the remoter limit, and B.C. $2142\frac{115}{480}$ as the more recent limit of the end of the Reign of Ptāh, at least as recognised on the banks of the Nile—though we also must not forget

that the Crocodile Cult (perhaps the index of the change from the Ptāh-Calendar to the Rā-Calendar) continued to flourish well on into the days of the 13th Dynasty, whatever these may have been; and further, we must remember to give due weight to the argument above alluded to, in connection with Sekhet the consort of Ptāh, indicating that, however deeply into the past the Reign of Ptāh may go, its cult must have been in vogue somewhere or other—possibly in earliest Khem—during the Tauric, Mes-Rāic, or Vrishabhan era, B. C. 4459 $\frac{8}{9}$ —2304 $\frac{2}{9}$, or thereabouts.

For the rest we can only conclude that before these possible eras the Calendrical System on a sidereal basis organically co-ordinated with the conditions ruling at the Celestial North Pole, or Uttara Dhrūva, and associated traditionally with the majestic name of Ptāh, and also with the equally majestic name of Aditi, is, as an actual operative method of measuring and recording Time, assignable to an immensely and indefinitely remote antiquity.

Now, if the Romiū, the Babylonians, the Vedic Indians, and so forth were not (as in fact they were not) wholly the descendants of remotely ancient ethnic groups who once upon a time dwelt at and more or less immediately around the North Pole, it can at least be said that their cultural heritages (which, though superficially diverse, had many features of a profound nature in common) were derived from races whose distant progenitors had once been settled in Dhrūvic regions, at least within the limits of the Arctic Circle. One of the most certain evidences of this is the fact that, as regards say the Vedic Indians, the Satras—all morphologically and functionally constructed and organised in conformity with the Samvatsara, or seasons of the natural year,—could be effectually completed in say either 9 or 10

months, at the pleasure of the sacrificer ; that, as regards the ancient Romiū, not only had they undoubted traditions of what is styled the Reign of Ptāh, but, at some vaguely ascertainable stage of their history, the Ptāh-cult, in the form of a Calendrical System of a very distinctive character, was in actually established vogue ; and that, as regards even the early Romans—nay, perchance their local predecessors the Etruscans—we know that, unless their Calendrical Year once really commenced at a point, with reference to the natural seasons, which enables us to account for January and February as having in fact though not in name been the 11th and 12th months, that Calendrical Year, at one time of their history, must have consisted, not of the usual European 12 months, but only of 10 months—showing, of course, that their ancestry or at least their cultural connection, must have gone back to that one of the numerous original groups of Circum-Polar humanity whose home-land had been situated in the zone that enjoyed an annual Continuous-Sunshine Period of 10 months.

This idea of a more or less original Home-land for humanity at the North Pole is by no means new. Some time ago Dr. Warren, in his *Paradise Found, or the Cradle of the Human Race at the North Pole*, based his views on an interpretation of ancient myths and legends which naturally looked upon them in the feeble and false light of the then state of philological, astronomical, geological and archæological knowledge. In all these fields of research, however, we have since become immensely farther advanced ; and more recently, in his *Arctic Home in the Vedas* and his *Crion*, Mr. Bal Gangādhār Tilak has ably reviewed the hypothesis from the immeasurably more advantageous standpoint of our present scientific position. His investigations have resulted

in the conclusion that if, in the light of the new discoveries, we read over again some of the passages in the Vedas which used to be considered incomprehensible, we are forced to the conclusion that, in what is known as the Inter-Glacial Period of the Quarternary Era, the Arctic regions, both in Asia and Europe, and I suppose also in America, were characterised by summers so cool and winters so warm as to have constituted a sort of perpetual Spring, and that in those days—possibly some 80,000 years ago—"the home of the ancestors of the Vedic people" must have been located somewhere in these Arctic regions, though probably it consisted of several settlements scattered about the various Circum-Polar zones of latitude that lay within what is called the Arctic Circle.

Regarding this as a broad general statement, I am in entire, even in enthusiastic, agreement with it, though we must revise our ideas or associations regarding the phrase "the Vedic people." It will at least be incumbent on anyone who ventures to reject it to account for the remarkably intimate knowledge revealed in the Rig-Vedic and other Saṃhitās, and in Fargard I of the Avestic Vendidad, regarding the kosmical conditions that must have prevailed in millennially remote ages, and in particular regarding the glorious and extraordinary phenomena exclusively characteristic of Polar and Circum-Polar regions, and those delicious climatic *differentiae* which were so distinctive of them in the days immediately preceding the last Glacial Period.

Equally well based appears to be Mr. Tilak's contention that the statements in Fargard I of the Vendidad regarding the various countries created by Ahūrā-Mazdā supply what is lacking in the Vedas—namely, a direct positive allusion to the Arctic North as a one-time Home of Humanity (Aryan or otherwise), and to

the causes which brought about the abandonment of that North for more genial latitudes.

Not that the "Sixteen lands" enumerated in Fargard I were the *mise-ee-scène* which became subjected to the glaciation referred to in the Fargard. All the confusion of ideas which has arisen in that connection is ascribable to the wrong-headedness of scholars like Spiegel and Darmesteter. Properly to appreciate the evidential value and force of the Fargard, we must understand what kind of a document it is, who wrote it, and what its writers were trying to embody or enshrine in it. As Tilak remarks, it is historical, not geographical. The way I read that is this.

The "Sixteen lands," though enumerated and commented upon in the Vendidad in the way they are, are really referable (for us, and apart from the traditions which the Vendidad purports to enshrine) to the concrete Colonial Settlements of what in *European and Other Race-origins* I call Āshāland, as founded in Airyo-Tūrān by the various streams of Sākhs or Sāghs who issued from Sākhlānd (Māt-Sākh, or Māt-Gāgi) in Arārdhū not earlier than *circa* B.C. 700, and that the Vendidad's ostensible association of the "Sixteen lands" with what now appear to have been the natural phenomena of far-away Boreal regions in remote ages when the positions of the Pole-Stars, the Equinoxes and Solstices, and the Stellar-host in relation to the Sun, were very different from what they are to-day, or indeed from what they were in B.C. 700 aforesaid, was merely a literary device or affectation assignable to some time during what we may call the renaissance of Āsha-worshipping Airyān as it existed and was inhabited subsequent to the Macedonian Conquest of those parts in the 4th century B.C., though of course founded upon some vague, sub-conscious race-memory, or local survival thereof, of the deathless old

tradition of a one-time Blond humanity dwelling around the North Pole. But my conception of remote Antiquity, from an ethnic point of view, differs considerably from that conventionally held and taught. In fact, the actual historical "Sixteen lands" were only used by the compilers of the *Vendidad* as a sort of warp in which to insert the woof of their traditions regarding the Arctic Home.

With the origin of Man, from a strictly anthropological or biological standpoint, I am not concerned, save that I agree that Primitive Man was probably a variable, comparatively colourless aggregate, whence the individual types—Black, Dark-White, and Yellow—slowly developed with increasing divergence and increasingly distinct individuality. I start arbitrarily from the days when the land-surfaces of the globe, especially in the northern hemisphere, presented a very different aspect from that which they present now: when, for instance, Asia, Europe, and even America, were all one continuous territorial mass, and humanity—Black, Dark-White, and Yellows—were distributed over it in 3 zones, the Blacks farthest south, the Whites in the centre, and the Yellows north. In those days there was no specific division known as Blond Man. In the last Inter-Glacial Period some of this humanity—probably the Yellows—spread into Boreal regions, dwelling there in groups in the various Circum-Polar zones, though doubtless some settled at the Pole itself. Each group would become familiar with the terrestrial and celestial conditions peculiar to its own environment, though each would probably acquire some knowledge respecting the conditions under which its neighbours lived: and each would develop its own cult, founded on its own observed phenomena.

How many centuries this Boreal Age lasted, who can tell? But it probably endured long enough to effect

the miracle of producing a kind of "sport" variety of Man who may be described as more or less Blond. Then ensued vast geological and other changes—perhaps imperceptibly slow, perhaps cataclysmic. Some of the Circum-Polar territories disappeared, Asia and Europe emerged into view, looking much as they do now, the New World (as we call the American land-mass) became severed from the old, a wondrous island-continent appeared in mid-Atlantic, and the last Glacial Period came on. Naturally, humanity abandoned their age-long Boreal homelands; and as naturally they migrated to the new island that had arisen in the ocean. Thus originated the *Poseidōnic Age*—its predecessor having been that which our friends the theosophists are wont to call the *Age of Greater Atlantis*.

Splendidly isolated in their new island-home, blessed with a heavenly climate, the quasi-blond refugees from the Arctic regions found in Poseidōnis exactly the new area of characterisation of which they were, or rather of which *we* are, in search: for there, in course of time, they developed into that Rosy-Blond, or Rhodo-Leukochroic, race which we know the Atlanteans, as they are commonly called, to have been.

Meanwhile, what about the rest of humanity? All round the Mediterranean Sea, on the African as well as on the European side, and well away eastwards too—in fact, from Atlas and the Pyrenees in the West to Western Asia and Northern Arabia in the East, flourished the Dark-Whites above-mentioned. These we may call the Melano-Leukochroi, or shortly the Melanochroi. Elsewhere, in Western, Northern, Central, and Farther Asia, the Tūrānian Yellows, or Xanthochroi, were in similar force. To the Blacks belonged all the more southern latitudes. The intermediate shades of marginal overlappings we may neglect. Of the various

historical national-races, biblical, classical, and otherwise, with which we are so familiar, none of the names, however ancient, had as yet been ever even heard of.

For an unascertainably long period the civilisation of the Melanochoi flourished around the Mediterranean and throughout the Great Central Zone above alluded to—those Melanochoi who were indigenes of the easternmost extremity of the Zone gradually developing into the more or less individuated race-stock known to our grand-parents under the old-fashioned name of “the Semites”—while, on the banks of the Nile, because geographically and otherwise isolated, Khem also developed into a very special and local expression of the same old civilisation; though, under the influences of a new immigrant or at least environing race, she underwent a further modification in the course of the next succeeding Age.

Upon this old Melanochoic Mediterranean World was in due time superposed another, and in many respects higher, civilisation—that of the Rosy-Blond or Rhodochroic race above referred to as having in course of ages developed into maturity in Poseidōnis. Thence, it would appear, they gradually colonised the maritime regions round the Mediterranean—one of their settlements, perhaps their earliest settlement, having been that which resulted in the so-called Atarantēs, or Atlantēs, of what eventually became known as Libya—a blondish, but not quite rosy-blond, ethnos. With the rise and progress of this wonderful Rhodochroic super-ethnos and civilisation, as enshrined in the mythology of a subsequent (*i.e.*, the Hellēnic) age, has been associated the mighty and majestic name of Zeus.

Of course it has to be remembered that all this time another and very different race—essentially the repre-

sentatives of Barbarism, or as we might now say, of Kultur as distinguished from Culture—had been diffusing themselves widely over the world, but mainly along the big mountain-ranges. Originally the product of an extensive amalgamation between the Xanthochroic autochthons of Turānian Western Asia and the Eastern Melanochroi, they first appeared in and around the Caucasus country, where Antiquity seems to have best known them under some such name as the Kaphs, or Keph, or Kāssi. Various sub-stocks from time to time sprang from them, and spread out in all directions—eventually becoming known as the Broadheads, Roundheads, Short-heads, or Squareheads, of early Central Europe, the Wolf-Folk (afterwards called the Tokhs) of Nūm-mā, Si-nim, Eil ām, and Airyo-Turān, and the Keph or Kāssi on the Upper-Nile. A still later offshoot—probably of the Anatolian branch—were the Khātti, Kheta, or Hittites. In after ages the Broadheads became even better known as what Myres calls the Alpine races; and the Tokhs as the pre-Aryan invaders of Southern India, and also as the Kephenians of proto-Persian regions, and the Dahyūs, Dasyūs, Dahae, Tokhāri, Tokhārā, Tūshārā, Kūshāns, and so forth, of comparatively modern Central Asian and Indian History.

Reverting now to what may be called Rhodochroia—the civilisation and empire of the Mediterranean Rosy-Blonds—there arrived, even for her, a stage of evolution, itself lasting for an indefinitely long period, during which she also sent forth stream after stream, first doubtless of adventurers and explorers, then of emigrants: tall, fair, enterprising dolichocephals, who, taking with them some at least of the cultural treasures of their unique race—its peerless traditions, its dialects, sciences and arts, its philosophies and faiths, all its distinguishing characteristics, physical, intellectual intuitional, and

spiritual, and (from a worldly point of view, perhaps more valuable than aught else) its pre-eminent capacity for profiting by the lessons of experience—that rock on which the Kāssi-descended folk were and are continually breaking—issued forth into what was assuredly for many of them “The Unknown.” Some of these migrants went north into Central Europe, mixing there with the Broadheads or Alpines, and developing into those mysterious “fair Northerners” who on their return south in after ages, appeared in the forefront of legend and poetry in connection with the ethnic origins of the Hellēnes and other kindred folk: but the main stream poured off into the East. It was really as a result of their amalgamations there with the local autochthons (principally Xanthochroic Tūrānians) that the historical national-races with whose names and vicissitudes we are so familiar, more or less gradually polarised into existence as sub-stocks—though we have hitherto rested complacently under the fixed idea that from all eternity they have been *adscripti glebae* in the Orient. Amongst these may be mentioned the Amorites, the Mitannians, the Babylonians, the Assyrians, the Airyānians, the Āryas, and even the so-called Chinese. Afterwards, as the results of further shuffling, and of periodical immixtures with the various scattered representatives of the original Kāssite stock, other national-races arose—*e.g.*, the Medes and the Kephenian Persians, each quite different ethnically from the other, yet *both*, not only popularly but also even in conventionally learned circles, still regarded as essentially, nay representatively, Airyānian (spelt “Iranian”).

All this—as also subsequent race-developments and movements, and finally a vast, but conventionally much neglected, back-wash, or return-migration, or rather stampede, from Asia into Europe about the 1st and

2nd centuries B.C.—will be found somewhat fully described, tentatively in *European and Other Race-Origins*, Books II and III, but better in my forthcoming work *Culture and Kultur Race-Origins*, and also more sketchily epitomised in my recent University Lectures on the same subject.

Here, by way of conclusion, I only wish to point out—in connection with so-called Āryan origins, and with Mr. Tilak's interesting speculations and expositions concerning the positions of the Equinoxes and Solstices as chronometrically indicative of the age when say the Rig-Vedic Samhitās were in daily practical use—that, as hinted at in my paper on *Ancient Romic Chronology*, it seems possible to fix *circa* B.C. 1151 as the epoch when the *sūkla* or *svityam* Āryas were last in Zarah-Lake land (modern Sēistān) and first in Sapta-Sindhavaḥ (modern Panjāb), having only about then transferred their settlements from the former into the latter; that before that epoch their ancestors were integrally part of the mighty eastward-rolling stream of Rosy-Blond migration which concluded their wanderings by settling down as the Airyānians of ancient, pre-Avestic Airyavō-Vaēja, but which had originally issued out of glorious old Mediterranean “Rhodochroia” above-mentioned; that Mr. Tilak's Orion and Aditi conjectures and suggestions in connection with the Precessional shifts of the Vishuvats and Ayanāntas only take us back as far as *circa* B.C. 4459 $\frac{8}{9}$, or *circa* B.C. 6615 $\frac{5}{9}$ at the earliest; that the tracing of Mediterranean civilisation back through the golden mists of the Zeus or Rhodochroian Age, and then through the countless centuries of the immediately preceding Melanochroian, or Ouranian Age, implies an immense stretch of time; that we have also to remember and to try to imagine the enormous largely parallel period that was

necessary for the physical and cultural evolution of the Atlanteans in Poseidōnis ; that even behind the commencement of those fabulously remote days, lies the well-nigh beginningless era when humanity—or at least that division of it which gave birth to the Rosy-Blndo race—blissfully dreamt away existence amid the supernal phenomenal splendours of the Arctic North ; that the beautiful legends and sacred rites so interestingly dealt with in the Samhitās were respectively known and performed throughout all these successive ages, and in all these successive stages of development in racial and cultural evolution ; that, even in the Tauric or Vrishabhan era (say B.C. 4459 $\frac{8}{9}$ —2304 $\frac{2}{3}$), all such legends and rites, as actually irradiative of men's minds, and as entering practically into the common daily round of human life, were far removed from "Vedic India" and "the Vedic people," as hitherto popularly understood and envisaged—being probably associable, if not with the Rhodochroi in the Zeus Age of the Old Mediterranean World, at least with the Rhodo-Tūrānian progenitors of say the 15th century B.C. Mitannians ; and that now, if we—scholars or otherwise, whether out here in India, or across the sea in distant Europe—continue to muse as of yore over the "Āryas" and "the Vedas," as familiarly revealed to us in Sanskrit literature, we shall have, somewhat drastically, and perchance with a sigh for the bursting of our lovely old bubbles, to revise our conventional ideas concerning both the people and the record, and to take our bearings anew, in accordance with the immeasurably wider—and, if I may say so, grander and more inspiring—outlook which is entailed by the tremendous opening out or unrolling of the panorama of Antiquity, even as above lightly sketched.

The Communal Organisation of Industry as the regional type of India

BY

RADHAKAMAL MUKERJEE

1. *The Village Economy : Constitution and Composition*

In India it is characteristic that amongst the village peasants, the bond of blood relationship, social co-operation or common economic interests ensures agricultural co-operation examples of which are very common. In the same way the organisation of industry, agricultural labour and handicraft production on a communal basis in the village community of India represents the essential features of co-operative production in the West. The exact nature of the services required of functionaries, artisans and labourers and their number are determined and regulated according to the needs of the village community. The study of rural economy in India has hitherto been of a pure descriptive character and has missed the scientific aspect for want of a proper classification of types and forms, followed by investigation into their originating physiographical and social conditions and causes which alone can reduce a heterogeneous mass of particular observations to a scientific order and system. With such an end in view we must seek to discover natural divisions of type and organisation not merely in regard to land-revenue and land-settlement which has had to be undertaken for practical administrative purposes, but also and principally as regards the

form of the village organisation, its constituent members and their varying relations as a problem in economic morphology of which the revenue system forms only a single determinant.

If we analyse the structure of the rural economic organisation we find three sets of governing conditions. First in order of origin as well as of significance come the physiographical and social needs and wants of the region which must impart a definite character to the *organisation* by fixing the nature of the services and thereby the *ensemble* of functionaries constituting a typical village unit of the region. The relative status of the different functionaries will be determined in great part by the relative importance of the economic services they render. But this is sometimes modified or disturbed by the influence of another factor, *viz.*, the traditional social hierarchy going back often to ethnic origins. Social traditions give rise to a scheme of social values which are reflected in the *gradation* of services and functionaries, and which lead to the formation of a village hierarchy. Lastly, the system of land tenure obtaining under the prevailing scheme of land-settlement and administration is the political factor which if it is consonant with the economic and social conditions just noticed proves a constructive force by co-ordinating the diverse interests and classes, while if it is divergent from the needs and traditions of the region may prove a disintegrating agency to the destruction of the healthy texture of economic life.

We now proceed to a consideration of these three sets of conditions and the resulting differences of village type and structure and we shall take these in the reverse order since the political factor has proved to be so disturbing that it has obscured the other specific features and traits. From the effects of land settlement and

administration which we shall take up first we shall proceed to the gradation of other village services in the village hierarchy and thence to the physiographical and social needs and requirements. In considering the land tenure we direct our attention to the position of the headman in relation to the system of land revenue administration which is a determining factor of the Indian village economy in one important direction. In the case of the Zamindari or land-lord system of Bengal and the United Provinces, the chief men of the village will necessarily be the zamindars (or his subordinates) with whom the settlement is made and who are responsible to Government for the payment of the land-revenue. In the ryotwari village, which is probably of the most ancient type and which owes its original existence to settlement by some tribe or clan which already possessed a leader, the headman who is such a leader, is recognised by the State and is taken into its service as an intermediary between itself and the villages and made hereditary. The ryotwari village is the prevalent form in Madras and Bombay. Here the zamindar is non-existent, except in the case of a few isolated tenures and it is the villager with whom the settlement is made and who is responsible for the land-revenue.

There is again a third type of village—the joint village, where there is no longer a body of cultivators each of whom has his own independent rights. Some of the villagers claim the ownership not merely of the fields they cultivate but of the whole of the village lands. The body of owners who thus still hold together and have a certain joint interest in the village, arises in various ways—(1) the prior existence of a territorial chiefship, (2) the development from the position of a farmer of revenue, (3) usurpation in a time of disorder, (4) the colonisation by individual and clan-groups, and

(5) communistic ownership of land. The management of the affairs of the joint body is properly by a committee of heads of houses, or punchayet. The joint village does not possess a recognised headman. Latterly the Government has found it necessary to institute a *species* of headman for these villages also, but such men are merely representatives of the joint proprietors in their dealings with the Government. He is called *lambardar* (holder of a number) and his office is allowed to be in some degree elective. The joint village is the prevalent form in the United Provinces, the Punjab, and the frontier province. Remembering the three distinct types of villages we can at once indicate the relative importance of the functions of the headman in different parts of India :

- I. The village under the Permanent Settlement in Bengal and in parts of Behar, and Orissa ; in Oudh, the United, and the Central Provinces. The village headman, Mukhya, Mandal, or Pradhan is often a mere creature of the Zamindar.
- II. The ryotwari village in Madras and Bombay. The great change in the revenue management under which the amount of each cultivator's payment was fixed by Government officers and not left to be adjusted by the community lowered the position and authority of the headman. He has now become a servant of the State and is now paid for his services in cash and land.
In Madras the village headman, Munsif or Manigar and the village accountant, Karnam or Kanakapillai still retain their hereditary dignity and rights, and often their rent-free plots of land (*maniyam*) or are paid a fixed salary by Government. He still holds a high position in the

village and as the social head he leads all social and religious festivals, and gets precedence in all domestic ceremonies of the villagers.

The hereditary patel is found in all the different divisions of the Bombay presidency, but the Kulkarni or *taluti* for historical reasons only in the Deccan and Southern Maratha country and not in Gujrat or the Konkan. The sources of income were : (1) land, for the most part exempt from rent, (2) direct levies in cash and kind from the ryots or compensation in lieu thereof, (3) cash payments from the Government treasury.

Their salary is fixed by a scale with reference to the gross revenue of the village.

III. The joint village,— the Punjab and the United Provinces.

The *lambaridar* (headman), and the *patwari* (accountant) are not so strong in position and sometimes have too little influence. There are sometimes too many *lambardars*, one for each section ; the *patwari* is usually appointed not to a single village but to a circle of villages.

Turning to the other sets of factors, the economic and the social, we proceed to indicate the influence of economic needs as shaped by agricultural conditions and general social wants of the people, on the organisation of village services, as well as the influence of social traditions and values on their gradation and hierarchy. The general conditions which attract a group of permanent artisans and menials to the village community are the same in the different type of villages even as the punchayet is no longer a special feature of the joint-village but universal in all parts of India. But as we have seen new functionaries and menials appear as a result of economic needs

and social or religious necessities. It would have been a very interesting study to estimate the relative importance of village functions or occupations as adapted to the needs and capabilities of different regions, but sufficient data are not at hand. But certain conclusions relating to the gradation of services and the village hierarchy are clearly derivable from a comparative survey of different village types in the different provinces.

Throughout India the apportionment of the blacksmith and the carpenter, the two most important servants of the village community, is nearly the same and is greater than the dues of the barber and the washerman who follow in the order of their social rank. Then come the village scavengers and messengers who occupy the lowest rung in the economic ladder.

THE PUNJAB.

Carpenter	{	Dues at harvest averaging about 1 ser per maund of produce or 30 to 50 sers per annum per plough and a sheaf.
Blacksmith		
Barber	{	The barber's perquisites in grain are rather less than those of the carpenter, but he gets considerable sums of money on occasions of marriage or death. The washerman's dues are equivalent to about $\frac{1}{2}$ a ser per maund. Then there are the <i>chuhra</i> s and <i>Dhaneks</i> who are both in a level at the bottom of the village social scale. They are chiefly employed as the village <i>dauras</i> or messengers, whose duty it is to show the road to travellers, to summon the villagers together when required and to carry messages and letters. Their dues amount to about half a ser per maund.
Washerman		
Chuhra		

MADRAS.

Carpenter	}	9 to 12 <i>Madras measures</i> per plough for making and repairing a plough.
Blacksmith		
Barber	}	3 <i>Madras measures</i> for 40 <i>Kalams</i> .
Washerman		

The Tothi, the Talayri and the Vattians correspond more or less to the Chuhra of the North and the Mhars of West and Central India and they get 5 to 7½ *Madras measures* at each harvest.

BIHAR.

Blacksmith	}	5 to 10 <i>dhurs</i> each per bigha or $\frac{1}{20}$ th in all.
Carpenter		
Watchman	}	3 to 4 <i>dhurs</i> of land per each adult member or customer.
Barber		
Washerman		

BENGAL.

Blacksmith	...	30 sers of grain per plough.
Carpenter	...	15 to 20 sers of grain for each plough at harvest time.
Barber	}	5 to 10 sers of grain annually for each family they serve.
Washerman		
Cobbler	...	Right to the skins.

ORISSA.

Carpenter	}	5 gaunis per plough.
Blacksmith		
Barber	}	3 to 5 gaunis for each married person or customer.
Washerman		

BOMBAY.

	Grain in pounds.	Bundles of jowar fodder.
Watchman	}	1,000
Carpenter		
Barber		

		Grain in pounds.	Bundles of jowar fodder.
Shoe-maker	...	960	500
Ferryman	}	480	250
Mahar			
Rope-maker	}	240	125
Butcher			
Washerman	...	...	...
Priest	}	120	60
Water-carrier			
Goldsmith	...	60	30

CENTRAL PROVINCES.

The *batutedars* continue to draw their customary *haks* at harvest though the officials think they have no legal claim to do so. The rights of one class alone, the Mahars, are protected by a special summary procedure in the revenue courts and in fact part of their ordinary remuneration is not secured by any legal remedy.

Lohar and Barhai or blacksmith and carpenter are each paid 6 small kuros or 90 lbs. of unhusked rice annually.

Washerman and Barber	...	75 to 90 lbs. of unhusked rice.
Mahar	...	1 to 3 sers per acre.

The family priest receives *haks* but of course occupies a much more distinguished position.

In South and Central India village watchmen are as a rule playing the part of the private police. In Bengal and Bihar the peasant does not generally have a watchman, but guards the crops himself, or deputes a regular servant to do so. In the southern districts of Madras the Kavalgar or village watch and ward and in Cochin and Malabar the Thandan or the cocoanut guard become very important and their remuneration is approximate to that of the carpenter and the blacksmith. Where the irrigation man is necessary in the rural economy due to physiographical

necessity, his remuneration,—whether he is the Neerghunty in Mysore, the Niranikam in Central Madras and the Madayan in the south—is never below that of the first class artisans. It is only in the dry regions of the Punjab that among the village servants the water-carrier is to be met with. He supplies water to the household and carries food to the men working in the fields. He does not usually get a fixed share of the produce, but is paid like the potter, the barber and the washerman according to the work done.

Hitherto we have emphasised only the organisations of services and their relative gradation and status so far as these are due to economic needs and wants, whether physiological and social. We shall now proceed to indicate the force of traditional and customary social values in determining social rank or gradation which may operate sometimes in harmony with existing economic needs and sometimes in an opposite direction though originally these traditional values themselves may have arisen out of regional needs in other ages and other historical environments. In the Christian village communities in addition to the necessary village artisans and menials there is to be found a hierarchy of church functionaries whose status is the result of the social values of the Christian scheme of life.

It is very interesting to observe that in Southern India the office holders of the ancient village communal system have been utilised by the authorities of the church for conducting the temporal affairs of the church after entrusting the church and its properties to their servant under the designation of *Koil Pillai*. The functionaries in connection with the church are selected by the village assembly on the principle of hereditary rights and are taken into the service of the church only on approval by the Parish priest. Among them the Monigar sees that

the dues to the church which could not be collected by the *Koil Pillai* are paid by the villagers concerned. Such collection of dues is also the duty of the *Monigar* in the indigenous village communal system. The *Peria-thanakaran* is also an office holder in the indigenous system to whom the disputes in the village are referred for decision, and the transgressions of the village rules for punishment. The church authorities have utilised the services of this functionary for the same purposes in connection with the management of the church in addition to giving him the honour of carrying the most important image in the church, *viz.*, that of the Blessed Virgin to the car for procession during the important festival of the church. He acts as the mediator between the parish priest and the villagers whenever any disputes arise. He convenes meetings of the village assembly and advises the parish priest in connection with appointments and other affairs in connection with the management of the church, and it is with his influence that the surplus of funds collected for the repair of the village tank and the fines levied from the villagers for transgression of the village rules and observances are secured as a source of income for the church.

In the Dravidian village communities the organisation of religious and educational services on the basis of segregation has lent to a multiplication of functionaries, even as the superimposition of the governmental machinery of administration has led to a reduplication of the village police, and magistracy, and in those cases it is more the social scheme than the actual economic need that is responsible for the want of concentration of social effort, and the economic waste therein involved. In the Nair country the military and feudal regime has left its former exponents and representatives in the Thandans, who have more or less outgrown their original

uses but not their privileges and status even as in the Maratha country the Bhils, Pasaitas, the Kolis, the Deshmukhas and Deshpandes and the boundary watchman are vestiges of the older military organisation. The priest who is to be found everywhere in all the different village types as the spiritual guardian, the bhu-devata, with his endowment of land, or share in harvest is the product of extra-economic values of life which are of exceptional strength and pervasiveness in the psychology of the Indian folks. Similarly the astrologer, the medicine man, the sacrificial priest and the exorcist are representatives of the forces of magic and fetishism, of shamanism and animism, which are imbedded in the deeper strata of all folks and peoples. On the other hand the village scavenger, the butcher, the toddy-drawer, the distiller of spirits, the tanner and the leather-dresser, and the washerman are generally assigned a low social position and this social gradation is equally the outcome of extra-economic valuation, and it may be interesting to enquire how far the traditional gradation of occupations in the Smritis may be found to be in agreement with the facts of the Indian village economy.

The strolling acrobats and jugglers as well as village playwrights, bards, minstrels, reciters of the epics, and genealogists who cater to social recreations and amusements and are in great requisition at religious or other festivals are regarded with amused tolerance and charity and have a corresponding eleemosynary share. The erotic accompaniments of the ethnic religions that have universally created bands of female religious ministrants and attendants, virgins, Devadasis, Basvis, etc., grouped round temples and shrines have assumed a peculiar form in the conditions of South Indian society, under which social vice has entered into league with æsthetic and religious emotion. As guardians of the dance and devotional

music, these Devadasis form a semi-religious female priesthood and their social status is an anomaly constituting as they do an honoured social outlawry which resembles in some respects the position of the Athenian Hetiæræ and is far removed from the social slavery of the white slaves and legalised courtesans of modern cities.

Before we conclude these general observations it would be interesting to note certain crucial instances in which there is a conflict between the traditional social values on the one hand and the economic needs on the other leading to a divergence between the social status or rank of a caste, guild or occupation and the share of the communal produce appropriated by it. The irrigation man and the village watch and ward often get a remuneration not below that of the highest class of artisans but their social rank is much lower. Similarly the Mhars and the Talayris are sometimes entrusted with important economic functions and also receive corresponding shares in grain but are degraded in social rank. The Vattians of Madras and the Chamars of the Punjab, besides their function as artisans, perform a very considerable part of agricultural labour. They are the most important class of menials and are remunerated accordingly. But they are among the untouchables. The untouchables sometimes have a customary and recognised place in the procedure of temple services and religious processions derived possibly from their original right of possession from which they have been ousted but which now stands as survival of an ancient usage and custom. Such are the inevitable discrepancies between custom and living value when the communal organization has lost its elasticity and adaptability. No social ordering is sound unless it is a faithful and adequate expression of the actual living values of the social constituents. Communalism is founded on the principle of securing its full social value to every

form of social service and social sacrifice, avoiding on the one hand the mischances, the hardships and the inequalities of an aggressive competition, and on the other the rigid cast-iron social grouping in the cantons and communes of the Prussianised pattern under the initiative of a centralised bureaucratic administration. Unfortunately communalism has its abuses and it loses its very soul when a rigid social stratification and a disparity between social service and its living value tend to create inequalities and monopolies, thereby disturbing the social harmony and checking vital progress.

But it cannot be gainsaid that the general structure of rural economic organisation and the traditional economic stratification which have more or less fixed the collective needs of the village as well as the nature and standard of the services required of the village artisans, menials, and functionaries have contributed a great deal to social and economic harmony and the reduction of social waste due to economic friction.

The Communal Control of Industry.

We have seen that amongst the village peasants, the bond of blood relationship or common economic interests ensures agricultural co-operation, examples of which are very common. In the same way the organisation of industry, agricultural labour and handicraft production on a communal basis in the village community of India represents the essential features of co-operative production in the west. The exact nature of the services required of artisans and labourers and their number are determined and regulated according to the needs of the village community. It is the custom in some village communities on the 11th of the second half of Jet, the

day after Dushara, when the arrangements for the ensuing agricultural year are made to determine how many artisans the village wants. The Thikar Banya then sees to the arrangement and in case of day labourers distributes them among the cultivators by lot. In the estimate of the villagers' collective needs, in the organisation of industrial and agricultural labour collectively controlled for the satisfaction of these needs, we find a highly developed system of co-operative industry which is the ideal of a large number of economists in the west; while in the village community's estimate of the artisans' and labourers' wages the theory of just and fair wages is already held in solution. It must be remembered also that the cash payment of wages tends to separate the economic from the social life by substituting the cash nexus for the tie of personal relationship. There is no doubt that the system of wages paid in kind tends to preserve the economic within the range of ethical obligation and fosters personal relationships in the economic world. The payment of wages in kind with its exacter adjustments to personal needs and its fuller opportunities of human relationships and social service, is of course not suited to complex industrial and commercial developments, but it will always have a place in the simple and vital forms of communal life which will develop *pari passu* with these latter, and, in all attempts at economic reconstruction, the natural and social advantages of payment in kind must be conserved and secured by necessary modifications and adjustments of the more complex machinery of exchange and distribution.

The Indian industrial world does not show the hard bargainings which characterise western economic life. Economic relations are duly restrained by social, and brotherly relations in striking contrast with the West,

where the business life is more or less free from the personal element and the personal factor. The labourer in the West does not meet his employer or the capitalist in his family, household or social duties and relations. The relation ends with the cash and its economic equivalent. In India there is nothing like an economic relationship as such. Economic, ethical and social duties and obligations are intermixed. All these contrasts between the wages systems of India and the West cannot be shown better than by giving a record of the duties and dues of labourers and artisans in the Indian village community.

NORTHERN INDIA.

Name of labourer.	Economic service.	Dues.
1. Carpenter	To make the woodwork <i>Kharif</i> . of all ordinary agricultural implements, beds, stools, spinning wheels, etc.; to cut wood on the occasions of marriage. Wood is in all cases supplied by the agriculturist, or else paid for separately.	Half seer per maund of the produce. Two bundles of jowar and bajra. One and quarter seers per plough at sowing time. <i>Rabi</i> . Half seer per maund of the produce. Two and half seers per plough at sowing times, one sheaf of the crop containing about 5 seers of grain. At a daughter's wedding from 8 as. to Re. 1 and food; on a son's marriage 4 as. and food.

Name of labourer.	Economic service.	Dues.
2. Lohar ...	To repair all agricultural iron implements; to fit all iron-work for the plough; the zamindar supplies the iron and the coal is supplied by the blacksmith.	The same as those of the carpenter.
3. Chamar ...	1. To supply <i>begar</i> (fagging); to repair all leather; to remove dead cattle.	1. $\frac{1}{40}$ th of the whole crop of grain.
	2. To supply <i>begar</i> ; to repair all leather; to remove dead cattle and to supply two pairs of shoes to the owner yearly; and to supply ox-goads and thongs when needed.	2. $\frac{1}{20}$ th of the whole crop of grain.
	3. To supply <i>begar</i> ; to remove dead cattle; to supply shoes to all the members of the family who needed them; to assist in the reaping of the harvest; to clear the fields before ploughing, one chamar to be daily present to assist at the reaping of the harvest.	3. $\frac{1}{10}$ th of the grain crop. On a daughter's marriage from 8 annas to Rs. 5 and food for three days; on a son's marriage from 8 as. to Re. 1 and food. The skin of dead sheep and goats goes to the chamar of the family, one-thirteenth part of the flesh of cow, ox, calf, sheep and goats, and one-nineteenth part of the flesh of buffalo go to the Chuhra (sweeper), the remainder being the Chamar's share. When any buffalo, bull or other cattle, belonging
The Chamars are by far the most important class of menials, for besides their function as artisans, they perform a very considerable part of the agricultural labour. He gives two pairs of boots a year		

Name of labourer.	Economic service.	Dues.
	for the ploughman, and two for the woman who brings the bread into the fields, and one ox whip (<i>narka</i>), and a leather rope (<i>sauta</i>) to fix the yoke (<i>jua</i>) to the plough in the half-year, and does all the necessary repair. They are the coolies of the village. They plaster the houses with mud when needed and do all kinds of odd work.	to a stranger or un-owned, dies, the skin is shared by all the chamars of the village, and of the flesh one-thirteenth or one-nineteenth, as above, goes to the Chuhars of the village and the remainder is given to all the Chamars of the village.
4. Potter ...	To supply earthen vessels for the household; to supply two <i>matkas</i> (pitchers) at each harvest; to keep donkeys and carry grain on them from the threshing floor to the village; and generally to bring all grain to the village that is brought elsewhere for seed or food (<i>big khaj</i>) or for weddings and feasts. (But he will not carry grain away from the village without payment.)	One <i>chhaj</i> (winnowing basket) of grain at harvest time, on a daughter's marriage, Re. 1 to Rs. 3 and food; on a son's wedding from 8 annas to Re. 1 and food.
5. Kahar (Water-carrier).	To bring water to the reapers and at weddings, and when plastering is being done; to make all the baskets needed, and the <i>boria</i>	Five seers of grain at harvest. On a daughter's marriage from Re. 1 to Rs. 5 and food daily so long as he supplies water; on a

Name of labourer.	Economic service.	Dues.
	or matting and <i>bijria</i> or fans, generally of date-palm leaves ; where the women are secluded, he also brings water to the house. He is fisherman of the country.	son's marriage from 4 annas to Re. 1 and food.
6. Sakka (Muham- madan water- man).	To supply water to Muhammadan houses ; to sprinkle water at weddings.	Five seers of grain at each harvest ; on weddings 4 annas and food.
7. Chuhra (sweeper).	To supply <i>begar</i> ; to sweep lanes and houses and carry night-soil ; to collect the dung, put it into cakes and stock it ; to work up the manure and to conduct the cattle to other villages and bring them back ; to collect the people for an assemblage and to act as a guide ; to remove dead camels, horses and asses and mules. News of a death sent to friends is invariably carried by him.	Five seers of grain at each harvest ; on a son's wedding Re. 1 and the refuse of the dinner of the whole <i>barat</i> (wedding party) and food for three days. One leaf daily from the house, which he cleans ; gets shoes and clothes of the dead, the whole skin of the dead mule, camel, ass and horse, one-thirteenth of the flesh of cow, sheep and goat, and one-nineteenth of the flesh of dead buffalo or its young.
8. Nai (barber).	To go on errands to relatives ; to shave the heads of males ; to clean the vessels of guests at weddings and funerals ; to shave and make	One <i>chhaj</i> (winnowing basket) of grain at each harvest ; Re. 1 at the betrothal of a son, Rs. 6 and one <i>dohar</i> (double sheet of cloth)

Name of labourer.	Economic service.	Dues.
	tobacco and attend upon guests; the Nain (barber's wife) accompanies the bride to the bridegroom's house.	and pice to the value of Rs. 2 at a daughter's betrothal; on a son's wedding Rs. 6 or Rs. 7; on a daughter's wedding from Rs. 7 to Rs. 20; food for all working days during a wedding; one loaf for each shaving; barber's wife gets half of one seer of grain each time she goes to dress the hair; she gets from Rs. 2 to Rs. 5 when she accompanies a bride to the bridegroom's house.
9. Chhipi (Tailor).	To supply <i>mandha</i> (awning) on a daughter's marriage and also to supply cloth.	Gets a rupee for the <i>mandha</i> ; the cloth is returned to him; also gets food; is paid for the sewing of clothes.

The *dhobi* or washerman receives as much as the carpenter in villages where the women do not wash the clothes; but only a small allowance, if any, in others, where he is often not found at all.

The *Teli* or oilman, *Gadriya* or wool-fetter, the *Julah* or weaver, the *Chimpi* alias *Lelgar* or dyer, and the *Sonar* or goldsmith, get no fixed allowance but are paid by the job; usually either by retaining some portion of the material given them to work up, or by receiving a weight of grain equal to that of the materials.

The weaver is supplied with yarn by the cultivator. It is the women who spin cotton. The *Bastarwa* is the village *kamin* or menial and is paid 4 seers of grain per

house at each harvest. The *Jolah* is not a village menial; he works on wages. His wages are:—

- (1) Re. 1 per 30 yards of cloth if cotton is provided.
- (2) $1\frac{1}{2}$ annas per 30 yards of cloth for laying the warp and woof.
- (3) Flour is also given to the weaver equal in weight to the cotton used. The weaver uses half for the cloth and eats the other half.
- (4) 1 pice for oil.

For weaving a man's entire apparel, 10 annas will be charged by the weaver in addition to the cotton supplied. This will consist of:—

Chaddar (10 yds.)	...	$1\frac{1}{4}$	seer of cotton.
Loin cloth ($7\frac{1}{2}$ yds.)	...	1	„ „
Kurta ($3\frac{1}{2}$ yds.)	...	$\frac{1}{2}$	„ „

Spun thread is sold at Re. 1 per seer.

The *Muchhi* or baker who is a Mussalman parches the grain and cooks the bread of the family. The village oven is called the *tanur* where the Mussalman peasants have their bread baked in the hot weather. Besides paying himself by retaining some of the grain or cakes brought him, he gets ten seers of grain per plough at the harvest.

The Dharwai or Banya, who weighs the grain and whose services are especially valuable because rent is taken in kind and the grain is to be weighed out and distributed between the menials, the tenant and the landlords, gets an allowance varying from a quarter of a seer per maund, or $2\frac{1}{2}$ seers per threshing floor, or one *paropi* per maund to one seer or even $1\frac{1}{4}$ seer per maund.

The *Muharsil* or *Thapi*, the landlords' watchman, who attends on behalf of the landlord when the grain is winnowed and stamps the heap of grain with a wooden

stamp on clay so that it may not be tampered with until division, and who also collects the landlord's share of the produce, gets one *topa* per threshing floor, or 5 seers per plough or sometimes as much as six seers per 12 maunds.

The *Shikari* or hunter who kills the birds and animals which prey on the crops, sometimes get 5 seers per plough.

The *Dum* or *Murasi* are the musicians of all, and the bards of the tribes other than Rajputs and Brahmans, whose Bhats or Jagas seldom reside in the district. The Bhats are the genealogists of the higher castes and visit their *chants* periodically to record all births and other domestic events of importance. The Dum is the very lowest of castes. The Murasi who supplies the music and poetry required on festive occasions gets 15 seers per plough.

In all marriages or funeral feasts, the Murasi sings songs and celebrate the praises of the ancestors, real or imaginary, of their entertainers. He is also the news-carrier of the village. He is very often sent on responsible errand (*britti*). He also goes with the daughter to the bridegroom's place.

The *Birahi* or drummer who beats the drum in a village on the river when the rice-embankments are in danger from a flood to call the people together to protect themselves, gets 5 seers per plough at the harvest.

And the *deredar* or the fire-carrier, whose business it is to see that the *huggas* are always full and alight, sometimes gets 5 seers per plough for this service.

In Hindu villages the Brahman, and in Sikh villages the Guru, gets 10 seers per plough for religious services, besides the customary fees given on all occasions of birth, marriage and death. Similarly in Mussalman villages the Quazi, or Mullah Masitwal gets five seers per

plough, in return for which, among other services, he blesses the heap of grain after it is winnowed and before it is divided. Sometimes this blessing is given by the faquir or professional religious mendicant who in that case gets five seers per plough.

Very interesting data are to be found relating to the increase or decrease of the different village occupations in recent years from the figures of the Shahpur district in the Punjab, the whole of which forms part of the western basin of the great Indo-Gangetic plain. The total population of the district has increased by 39 per cent. since 1891 ; nearly half of this increase is due to immigration, and half to natural increase. How the increase has been distributed over the various occupations and castes can be judged from these figures :—

Occupation.	Caste.	Increase per cent.
A.—Agriculture	{ Jat-Rajput	64
	{ Awan	28
	... { Khokhar	20
	{ Baloch	29
	{ Arains-Malyar	60
B.—Religion	{ Sayad	38
	... { Brahman	16
	{ Qureshi-Sheikh	27
C.—Business	... { Khatri	12
	{ Arora	15
D.—Skilled labour	{ Sunar	38
	{ Tarkhan	36
	{ Lohar	40
	{ Kubhar	19
	... { Julaha	2
	{ Machhi	28
	{ Teli	18
	{ Dhobi	27
E.—Unskilled labour, Chuhhra	{ Mochi	23
	... { Mussalli	80

It will be seen that the unskilled labourers have increased more than any other section of the population ; but the agriculturists are not far behind : the Sayads, who minister to the souls of the great majority of the population, the *Sunars*, who minister to their vanity, and the smiths and masons, who supply the most necessary instruments of agriculture, have all kept pace with the general rate of increase ; the *Machhis*, who prepare the food, and the *Darzis*, *Dhobis* and *Mochis*, who supply, clean and repair raiment, have lost a little ground ; the potter is naturally less needed in a world of canals than in one of Persian wheels, and the oil-presser is also being ousted, partly by the improved oil-press, and partly by the European exporter. The weavers afford a rather startling proof of the power of Manchester.

In the United Provinces, the village system is in full force. In some districts the harvest at the threshing floor is divided rateably among landlord, tenant and artisan. "No one of the cultivating body, whether he be a landlord or tenant, is allowed to pick out the good land of the village for himself ; every description of land, good and bad, is distributed rateably among the cultivators in the proportion of the number of plough-cattle which each person possesses. The entire community has an interest in the grain heap ; not only the landowner, the tenant and the ploughman, but also the village menials, artisans, and others, who are paid for the various services they render to the agriculturists, not in cash, but by a fixed allowance at harvest time. The most important shares in the heap are, of course, that of the landlord or *sarkar*, that of the tenant, and that of the ploughman. If the tenant keeps no ploughman, he takes the ploughman's shares in addition to his own." The dues paid to village menials and others, known as *jeora*,

vary in different estates, but those which are customary in Dhebarua may be taken as a fair example. There the village barber, Dhobi, Barhai, Lohar, and Ahir receive full *jeora* which consists of four *panseris* for each plough of cultivation, and an additional *panseri*, called *kalyani*, when the division has taken place. The Kahar for supplying water, and sometimes the Kumbhar, receive half *jeora*, and the same amount is given to the astrologer or *pandit*, who determines the propitious times for ploughing, sowing and reaping, and also to the *sokha* or exorcist, who secures the village from evil spirits by performing the ceremony of *dih-bandwa*, and sets up the curious little posts known as Jak and Jakni which are seen outside most of the villages. The latter is usually a Tharu, although the office is sometimes performed by an Ojha Brahman. These dues are paid three times in the year; from the *rabi*, from the *usahan* or autumn crop, and from the *jarhan* or winter rice harvest. Other deductions are made from the heap before the division between landlord and tenant, most of these being found in the neighbouring districts of northern Oudh. Thus five *anjuris* or double handfuls are taken for Brahmans, and a smaller quantity for *Faqirs*; and an indefinite amount, known as *agwar*, is taken by the *harwahin* or ploughman's wife, and a regular allowance is given to the weighman. Before the grain is threshed out, still further allowances are made. The Ahir, Barhai, and Lohar obtain, in addition to the *jeora*, an amount known as *mandi* or one twenty-fourth part of a bigha of the standing crop per plough; while the herdsman gets four *mandis*, one for each bullock, and the reaper receives one sheaf in fifty as *loni*, this amount being doubled in the case of the proprietor's *sir* land.

In Behar, the chief village officials belong to the establishment maintained by the landlords for collecting their dues from the villagers; and in most villages may

be seen the *kachahri*, where the rents are collected and local business transacted. The head of this establishment is the landlord's agent or *gumashta*, whose duty is to collect the rents and generally look after the interests of the *malik*. His position naturally makes him one of the most important functionaries in the village community; and though he receives only a nominal pay, with perhaps a small percentage on the landlord's receipts, his perquisites enable him to live in considerable comfort. Next in rank comes the *patwari* or village accountant, who with the *gumashta* enjoys remarkable facilities for filling his pockets at the expense both of the landlords, whom he can cheat with cooked accounts, and of the cultivator, who must pay for a fair assessment of his crops. The *gumashta* has one or two paid assistants called *barahils*, who act as his lieutenants and help in collecting the rents. In each village there is also the *gorait*, a messenger who acts under the orders of the *gumashta*; he is generally paid no salary like the *barahil*, but receives instead a small portion of land, which he is allowed to cultivate rent-free. Where the rent of land is settled by estimating the outturn of the crop, the landowner's establishment contains also an *amin*, or chief surveyor, a clerk (*navisenda*), an arbitrator (*salis*) and a chainman (*jaribkash*) who measures the fields with a rod.

The other officials, who are independent of the *malik*, are the *jeth-raiyat* or village headman; the Brahman priest, who gets a percentage of the produce at every harvest; the *sonar* or goldsmith and the *tehi* or oilman, who are generally employed as *dandidars* or weighmen; the *hajjam* or barber, the carpenter, the blacksmith, the washerman, the tanner, and the tanner's wife, who holds the office of village midwife. These officials are all paid annually at rates which vary with the state of the season, and the wealth of the cultivator. Besides these, there is

the village *chaukidar* or watchman in the service of Government.

In Bengal the indigenous village system has lost much of its vitality on account of the power and influence of the landholders. The village *mukhya*, *mandal* or *pradhan* who formerly held an important position as he was the representative of the villagers in matters of general or individual interest, has lost much of his importance. He has often become a mere creature of the zamindar who sometimes gives him a remuneration, appoints and dismisses him. He is still the village headman however, and receives perquisites and gifts from the villagers on the occasion of domestic and religious ceremonies in accordance with the time-honoured custom.

The other village officials are the priest, barber, washerman, astrologer, and the representatives of the various artisan castes. In the old Hindu organisation, these persons were looked upon as public servants, and remunerated by grants of rent-free lands from the common lands of the village. They have, however, long ceased to exist as village officials, and are now hardly more than private servants carrying on certain occupations, and paid for their work by the individuals on whom they attend.

The chief of these is the *purohit* or priest. Nearly every well-to-do Hindu cultivator maintains a family idol, generally a *salagram* (a black round stone with a hole in it), which the family priest worships every morning and evening as representing Vishnu. For this he is remunerated by daily gifts of rice and milk. In some villages there is an idol kept in a house called the *mandap*, or in a masonry temple erected at the joint expense of the great majority of the villagers; and gifts of rice, fruit, etc., for its service are contributed by each household in turn. If the village idol has been set up by a zamindar or rich

villager, there will generally be found an endowment of land attached thereto, from the proceeds of which the articles necessary for the *puja* service are purchased, and from which are supported the village priest, the *mali* who furnishes the flowers, the *doms* or musicians, the *kamar* who sacrifices goats before the idol, the potter who supplies the earthen vessels, etc. Besides his remuneration for his services before the idol, the family priest receives numerous gifts from the villagers on occasions of births, marriages, *sraddha*, etc.

The Goswamis keep two officers, *viz.*, a *faujdar* and under him a *chharidar*. For every *bhek*, *i.e.*, the ceremony of initiation of a Vaishnava, and for every marriage and death ceremony of a Vaishnava, Re. 1-6 is said to be due to the Goswamis, of which the *faujdar* gets 4 annas and the *chharidar* 2 annas as remuneration for the services they render to the Goswamis.

Certain classes, who are still practically the common servants of the village community, are also largely paid in kind. One *kamar* or smith usually works for the people of four or five villages, his chief business being the forging of ploughshares, hoes and other agricultural implements. A ploughshare generally becomes almost useless at the end of each ploughing season, and has to be re-cast and re-forged at the beginning of the next year. This the smith does, and as remuneration receives a customary fee of 10 to 15 seers of unhusked rice from every husbandman at harvest time for each plough owned by him. For other work he is paid at contract rates, generally in money. At sacrificial ceremonies the *kamar* also officiates as sacrificer; and in many cases he holds a small plot of rent-free land in return for his services in that capacity.

Usually one *sut:adhar* or carpenter does the work of two or more villages, his chief business being to make the

woodwork of ploughs, for which he receives a certain fixed measure of rice from every cultivator. The wages of the *dhoba* or washerman are paid either in kind or in money, but every village has not a washerman of its own, and in a poor family the females wash the clothes themselves. Families in better circumstances, however, generally send their clothes to the washerman's house, whether it is situated in their own or a neighbouring village. For furnishing a temple with earthen vessels, etc., the *kumhar* or potter, in many places, is rewarded by a small plot of rent-free land, but earthen vessels of domestic use are paid for in money.

The *mali* or gardener, who supplies flowers and garlands to the villagers on ceremonial occasions, also in some cases holds service land in remuneration of his labour; and the flowers and garlands which he supplies are paid for either in kind or in money. But most are unable to subsist solely by growing flowers and making garlands, and follow agriculture as an auxiliary means of livelihood. The *napit* or barber, besides shaving a certain number of families, called his *jajmans* or customers, has to be present at marriage ceremonies and assist in the performance of certain rites. His wages usually consist of a measure of unhusked rice paid by each family at harvest-time. This is the general custom; but in some villages he is paid in grain or money every time he shaves a beard, cuts hair, acts as a manicure, etc.

Among other village servants may be mentioned the *acharya*, i.e., the astrologer, fortune-teller, and almanac writer, who is remunerated either in money or by gifts of rice, pulses and vegetables. Similarly, the *simanadar* or village watchman gets four bundles (*bira*) of paddy per *bigha* as his remuneration for guarding the fields at night during the harvesting seasons. The *kayal*, again, whose business is to weigh and measure grain, is generally

paid in kind by the buyer or seller, or by both; he is frequently found at markets where large quantities of grain are sold, but not usually in the smaller villages.

In Orissa, the village system is still intact, and wages are usually paid in kind, though they are not fixed. In his own native village, a skilled labourer gets from 4 to 6 annas and an adult unskilled labourer 2 annas a day; but the amount of the wages paid depends on the demand for labour, the nature and amount of the work done, and the size and position of the village, *i.e.*, whether it is in a remote and out-of-the-way tract or in the neighbourhood of a town. For making and repairing agricultural implements, carpenters and blacksmiths, who are still an essential part of the village community, are always paid in kind, the annual payment averaging about 9 seers of rice from every client; and the day labourer, when paid in kind, gets varying quantities of paddy equivalent to 2 to 2½ seers of rice. Measured by the quantity of grain given, there does not appear to have been any increase in the wages paid to agricultural labourers during the last 30 years; but owing to the enhanced price of food-grains, the money valuation of wages in kind has increased by 90 per cent. On the other hand, though the wages paid in cash have increased considerably, they have not risen in the same proportion as the prices of staple food-crops, and they are now slightly less in value than wages in kind; the latter are, therefore, preferred by the village labourers, and it is difficult to obtain a cooly in the mofussil who will work for cash wages in the sowing and reaping seasons, when wages in kind are freely given. In some districts, the village blacksmith is paid a *tambi**

* A *khandi* is equal to 20 *tambis*, of which there are two kinds: (1) the *bhuti* and (2) the *lakshmi-prashad*. A *bhuti tambi* of paddy weighs 15 chittacks and a *lakshmi-prashad tambi* 1 seer and 6 chittacks. Labourers are always paid in *bhuti tambis*.

of rice for mending a ploughshare or preparing a sickle, and the same quantity of paddy for sharpening four ploughshares. The washerman is given a *khandi** of paddy in the case of each adult and 10 *tambis* for each boy or girl as his yearly wage, besides food on the days when he is given clothes to wash, and special fees on births, deaths and marriages. The barber is similarly remunerated in kind, getting one *khandi* of paddy per annum for a man and 10 *tambis* for an unmarried boy. In some cases, however, these village servants hold service lands. Carpenters are very few in number, the ryots usually doing their own rough woodwork themselves or getting it done by their farm labourers.

The above description of the organisation of industry, though following the features presented by North Indian village, is fairly typical of the greater part of India. But as we have shown, between one province and another, and sometimes between districts in the same province differences arise in obedience to the forces of adaptation to a different physiographical, social and industrial environment. Thus some new village functionaries appear who are very important in agricultural and social economy, while some lose their significance altogether. In any case we find a close agricultural co-operation with its own organisation and government, and its staff of artisans and functionaries which vary in different types of villages and ethnic stocks, and whose number is determined by the size of the community that they serve. The methods of payment are also similar. The artisans and functionaries are always regarded as public servants of the village community, and they are paid by grants of land free of rent, and sometimes of revenue, or by shares of

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grain at the harvest, or by both supplemented in any case by presents of food, clothing or other perquisites on special occasions like marriage, birth, death, *sraddha* or religious festivals. It is only when capitalistic landlordism has made the headman of the village a mere revenue official without powers and without dignity or the administrative machinery, satisfied with the exclusive functions of the patel and the accountant without whom the revenue cannot be easily and efficiently collected, has refused to recognise the importance of the services of the other village functionaries and has itself wrested the rent-free lands from their hands, or tacitly consented in the process of transfer, that the punchayet and the subsidiary organisation of the communal employment of labour have declined, and thus the age-long village institutions which are the most useful bodies for economic reconstruction have been undermined and disintegrated. And now when the disintegration is proceeding in the administrative process it is facile for the administrator to say that communal institutions have disappeared. This is far from being the case. A close acquaintance with rural life and labour must lead to the conclusion that there are no better instruments of economic reconstruction than the communal habits and institutions which await renewal in the hands of the administrator and statesman. The government having interposed a middleman between itself and the cultivators, as a rule, saw no necessity for dealing directly with the village artisans and inferior village servants. The chief exceptions to this rule are the cases of the village accountant and headmen. The village watchmen and messengers were also in many cases, in consideration of their useful and necessary services, granted small cash allowances or were allowed to retain their rent-free lands where those still existed. Other exceptions may also be found, but as a general rule,

it is only the revenue-paying and collecting officers who have been retained intact and so also the village messengers; while the other artisans and menials who serve important functions in the social economy of the village have all been ignored. Again there has often been a reduplication of the police and the inferior magistracy with results of confusion and friction. Local self-government in India has, indeed, a chequered career. The history of village administration under British auspices has successively shewn these tendencies. The first is the complete neglect of the indigenous rural self-government in the village Panch and the superimposition of the headmen, the police and the accountant in the interests of the revenue as well as of the criminal administration. The second is that of bringing the residual sources of traditional authority in the villages into the folds of the central government by a system of grants and salaries, doles and subsidies in addition to their customary shares and by a system of nomination and ratification exercised by the magistrate. This has brought about a complete loss of initiative of the people as regards sanitation, education and public works, which were formerly maintained by the indigenous machinery, but which have fallen into desuetude and disrepair in the absence of all responsibility, and all authority, customary or positive. The last is a tendency towards decentralisation, by the formation of union committee, local bodies, the effects of which on the rehabilitation of village economy have yet to be seen.

CENTRAL AND SOUTHERN INDIA.

In South and parts of Central India communal tradition has fixed twelve as the usual number of artisans and functionaries in the village. These are called *Barabalutis* or *Avagaras* (lit. persons remunerated by

customary fees in kind). Besides the *patel* (headman) and the *Shanbogue* (registrar or accountant) there are—

Toti	Chuckler
Talari	Carpenter
Nirganti	Iron-smith
Washerman	Potter
Barber	Cavelgar

the particulars of whose duties are as follows :—

(1) The *Toti* is a man of the Parish caste. At the beginning of the season, he collects the ryots to attend to the work of the *Buttayee* fields at the proper time, and to plough and sow the lands. He takes care that the crops are not destroyed by stray cattle; he keeps all the ryots in readiness near the cutchery for the purpose of collecting the *candayem* from them. He runs in the night time with the post-runners, carrying the torch and furnishes them with such supplies as may be requisite. He is likewise required to act as a guide to Government officers and travellers of any importance.

The *Totis* are remunerated by land held free of rent or on light assessment. He may get one *mora* or *soop* of ragi, approximately 10 seers, and the skins of dead cattle. He may also get Rs. 5 from the relatives of a dead person; Re. 1-4-0 for digging the grave or for piling the funeral fire-wood. The fee which the *Kulvadi* receives for the soil under which a dead body is interred is called *net-bhaga*, soil-money. He also gets odds and ends, for example, a feeding and a cocoanut from every house in the village during the Gauri and Ganesh feasts. The right of *pūja* of the village goddess generally resides in the *Kulvadi* probably because it is a part of Non-Aryan religion and ritualism which Hinduism could not completely assimilate to itself, especially the sacrifice of animals which a Hindu of the higher caste would not consent to.

(2) The *Talari* or village watchman. He takes care that no thefts are committed in the village; he secures such cattle as are found without owners and acts for the *Toti* when absent. He goes on errands, carrying information about marriages, birth and deaths, etc. He carries the birth and death, crop and police reports and any other correspondence to the Taluk office.

He is remunerated in the same way as the *Toti*. Besides the *nijayam* and *ardhayam* (shares of the crop) and the *manyams* (privileged lands) allowed for their maintenance to encourage them to a due performance of their duties, the peasants privately give them *ragi* and vegetables.

(3) The *Nirganti* regulates the supply of irrigating water to the wet lands of the village, whether belonging to the ryots or to the sarkar. He has to economise the supply of water in every possible way, and in the season of rains might be said to hold the safety-valves of the tanks and other reservoirs in his hands. He actually holds the *tuba* or the key of the channel pipe and distributes the water to the fields of all persons in just proportions, so that the crops may not be dried up. He inspects the *bunds*, channels and sluices of tanks and in the case of any irregularities he reports immediately to the Patel and the Shanbogue. Many a day's supply of water is sometimes lost by the timidity or apathy of an inefficient *nirganti*, and on the other hand many a valuable dam is carried away by the rashness or ignorance of a presumptuous one. The *Nirganti* knows from his practical experience and personal observation the amount of water required by a ryot for the production of his crop; when the water diminishes he renders account thereof to the managers, lest he should be suspected of disposing of it clandestinely.

For these services he receives 1 *colaga* or 10 seers of *ragi*, and a bundle of grain which he can carry. This

bundle is called *murukultina-hore*, the sheaf which can be tied by lengths of three stalks and exactly corresponds to the *tirmanī* of the Panjab villages.

(4) & (5) Washerman (*Agasa*) and barber (*Nayinda*) who are remunerated by fees by the ryots. For a family the washerman gets one bundle of unthreshed straw, one winnowful of grain at the threshing floor and 20 measures of grain with other perquisites such as food on all the feast days and marriage and other auspicious occasion. The washerman is entitled to get the cloth worn by a girl at the time of her puberty, and to the presents given by her husband when he carries the news of the event. The clothes of unmarried persons in the family and those of the *yajaman* are washed free. The barber similarly gets as an annnal allowance five *colagas* of grain with a winnowful of paddy or other grain, and a bundle of straw at the threshing floor. On days on which he works he gets a feeding, and on feast days like other *Ayagaras* he gets doles of food at the houses of the chief village families. On special occasions like a marriage, birth, *upanayana* or death he gets cloth and food. As in Northern Indian village the barbers have different circles of families allotted to each, and none can encroach upon another's circle. The *Nayonda* has also to play on their pipes at the services in the village temple.

(6) The village potter (*kumhara*). He supplies earthenware household pots, and utensils as well as funnels at the bank of the lakes as a passage for the water to irrigate the fields. He gets 1 *colaga* of grain from the cultivators at each harvest.

(7) The carpenter (*Badagi*) repairs the woodwork, makes the plough-share and supplies small wooden vessels, lamp-stands, etc., for household use. He gets 1 *colaga* of grain from each ryot.

(8) The iron-smith. He repairs the implements of agriculture without receiving hire, but he has a fee called *Maira* granted to him from the village for other work. He does the work of the carpenter when necessary.

(9) The *Chuckler*. This man watches over the crops of the wet lands which are cultivated under the *warum* system, until they are reaped, threshed and the corn separated from the husk. He also prepares for the ryots some leather furniture for cattle, etc.

(10) The *Cavelgar*. He takes care of the produce of the trees of various kinds and has no other duties.

There are many villages in which the full complement of the *barabaluti* is not to be found. In many there are five or six officers and servants in all. In some others, again, there are new functionaries such as the goldsmith (*Akasale*) who measures the share of the crop paid to the sarkar, and shroffs the money collected in the village in payment of the revenue. He is supplied with gold and silver and makes the ornaments. For this work he takes payment but for the former he obtains the *hore-hullu* and *muva-batta*; the schoolmaster; the calendar Brahman (*Panchangi*) who calculates the festivals and anniversaries and the propitious times for commencing sowing or any new undertakings; the *pujari* who propitiates and worships the village idol; the ferryman or the fisherman (*Ambuga*); the blower of horn (*Kambudona*) who reports the advent of a stranger or official, etc.

In some parts there is also in every village an influential and generally rather old ryot known by the title of *Hiriya* ryot or *buddhivant* (the wise) who is consulted on all occasions, and is usually the spokesman when any representation has to be made to the superior authorities. Sometimes two or three leading ryots or

heggadays in a collection of villages, act in behalf of the ryots of their districts in all transactions of a common interest, such as arranging sales of betelnut with merchants, and the details of the settlement and collections with *sarkar* officers; and engagements signed by them are held to be binding on those ryots.

Roughly estimated the shares of the crop are as follows. If the produce be one *candi* of *ragi*—

(1)	Sarkar	...	...	7	turns
(2)	Talari	...	...	2	„
(3)	Pariahs who take care of the crops in the field	...	...	$1\frac{2}{8}$	„
(4)	Village servants	...	...	$\frac{4}{8}$	„
(5)	Brahmins	...	...	$\frac{6}{16}$	„
(6)	Shanbogue	...	...	$\frac{6}{16}$	„
(7)	Shroff (money-banker)	...	...	$\frac{3}{16}$	„
(8)	Marsaldar (a sarkar peon)	...	...	$\frac{2}{16}$	„
(9)	Patel (Gondu)	...	...	$\frac{2}{16}$	„
(10)	The head of the Jangam matam or the priest of the temple who worships the <i>lingam</i>	...	...	$\frac{3}{16}$	

Remaining to the ryot

12 turns

8

20 = 1 *candi*.

Similarly the village in the Central Provinces has several menials paid by customary contributions from the cultivators. The *Lohar* or black-smith receives one to one and a half small *khandis* of unhusked rice yielding 60 to 90 lbs. of husked rice for each plough of four cattle and *kharwan* or a sheaf of grain from each cultivator at harvest. The *malguzar* or village proprietor usually gives him a field free of rent. In return for this he mends the iron implements of agriculture and makes new

ones when the cultivator supplies him with the charcoal and iron. Carpenters are usually not to be found in the villages and such wooden tools as are required are made either by the Lohar or by the cultivators themselves. These even make their own carts, only purchasing the wheels. One of the Chamars of the village who is known as Meher, takes the skins of cattle dying within its limits. When the village is a large one the privilege may be divided among several Chamars who divide up the cultivators between them and take their cattle. The Meher is often given a field free of rent by the malguzar or he may receive *jewar* or remuneration at the rate of one *katha* of seed-grain for every *khandi* of land measured by seed-area.¹ For this he supplies shoes free of cost to the malguzar and his children twice a year and gives him the neck-ropes and thongs required for his plough-cattle. In return for the hides of the tenant's cattle he furnishes them with the same articles at something below the ordinary rate.

Dhobis or washermen are not numerous and the cultivators make sparing use of their services, preferring to wash their own clothes in a rough fashion. The Dhobi receives presents for washing the clothes after the impurity occasioned by a birth or a death. The malguzar may give him a field free of rent and in return for this he will chop up fuel for him and for officials who visit the village. Many villages have a special menial to attend on Government servants, who is known as Begariha and is usually a Rawat. He receives one or two acres of land free of rent and in return for this has to accompany any Government servant or other traveller, when so ordered by the malguzar, on his way to the next village, and carry his luggage in panniers over his shoulders. The village has usually also a Baiga or worshipper of the

¹ About an acre and two-fifths.

indigenous deities who receives 10 kathas or 30 lbs. of husked rice per plough of land from each cultivator and a sheaf at harvest. The Nai or barber receives a field of one to two acres rent-free from the malguzar and from the cultivators 30 lbs. of husked rice for each grown man in the family and 15 lbs. for each child. At the birth of a boy he is given four annas and three annas at that of a girl, and the same sum when children die. When a man or a woman dies he gets a present varying from eight annas to three rupees according to the circumstances of the family, and from rich persons sometimes a cow or a calf. He usually shaves the cultivators once a fortnight and on the sixth day after a birth has occurred in the family and the tenth after a death. When the village landowner goes on a journey the barber accompanies him and buys his food in the bazar, rubs his body with oil or *ghi* (melted butter) and massages his legs when he is tired. The barber's wife cleans the hair of well-to-do women with sesamum oil and combs it and rubs oil on their bodies.

We now come to the communal organisation of industry in the Madras Presidency. We are taking some specific instances from villages in different parts of Madras. In the village of Tiruchenduri in Trichinopoly District we find the following artisans and menials :—

There is a Pannagar, whose duty is to control day-labourers, who are engaged in the paddy-fields. He also combines the functions of the Kavalgars and patrols the village in the night. He gets 30 Madras measures for every 40 kalams of paddy harvested by each cultivator. He possesses Maniyam of half an acre of land.

The washerman, the barber and the potter have been given house sites in the village and Maniyam lands of three-fourths of an acre each. The potter supplies the pots for funeral occasions and gets allowances in cash or

in kind for the domestic utensils he supplies. The carpenter has been given a Maniyam land of the same size. He makes or repairs temple cars, doors, etc. For making a plough he gets a remuneration of 11 Madras measures.

The blacksmith's Maniyam is adversely owned by his children, who have become goldsmiths.

Another village servant is the Kavandan, who is also given a special holding. He taps the palm and gets the cocoanut trees for funeral.

The village *ratayan* or messenger has also his own Maniyam.

The costs of channel repairs and maintenance are defrayed by the Imamdars in proportion to the extent of land that each owns. There are also 8 acres of Maniyam lands set apart for meeting the expenses of temple festivals, Bhajans, Harikathas, etc.

In the village Valadi again we find these artisans and servants.

The Nirarikaran regulates the distribution of water. He is the bawler and crier. He attends when labourers repair channels. He gets 30 Madras measures for every 40 kalams of paddy at each harvest from the cultivators.

There are two Kondiotis, who guard village crop and prevent cattle from going astray. Formerly he used to get 3 Madras measures for every 40 kalams, but as the cultivators did not give him his allowances of grain, the Panchayat fixed for him a monthly remuneration of 2 kalams of paddy every month.

There are 10 Kavalgars or village guardsmen. For every 40 kalams of paddy at the harvest they get 18 Madras measures.

There was formerly a Maniyar, who supervised the work of the different village menials, but this work is now attended to by the Panchayat.

There is also the Oddan (sweeper), who is paid Rs. 5 per month. He sweeps only the Agraharan and gets from each house a fee according to its frontage.

The priest, the washerman, the barber, the potter, the carpenter, the blacksmith, the dancing-girl, the Pandaram, and the Kaladi have been given house sites in the village. They had Maniyam lands, but these have now been taken possession of by the Panchayat. But the barber and the Pandaram still hold their bits of rent-ree land.

The commutation rights in the other cases have been as follows :—

For the priest 3 kalams of paddy per month from the temple lands.

For the washerman 6 measures of paddy for every house annually.

For the barber 3 measures of paddy for every 40 kalams at each harvest.

For the potter all the husks and straw of the threshing floor and cash prices for articles.

For the carpenter 9 Madras measures for one plough-share.

For the blacksmith 9 Madras measures for a spade.

For the dancing-girl $3\frac{1}{2}$ kalams of paddy out of the collections for the festival of the Lokanayika.

For the Kaladi (who escorts carts during the night and assists the Kavalgars in their watch) $4\frac{1}{2}$ Madras measures for every acre.

A similar complement of village artisans and menials and their remuneration and their employment by the village on a remuneration sometimes of a bit of rent-free land as well as by allowances of so many measures of grain and perquisites in kind are met with in the other districts of Madras. Each artisan and menial is given a house site at a little distance from the village in a group forming a sort of suburb called Parichery and

Chakalaichary. The carpenter, the blacksmith, the potter, the barber, and the washerman, as well as the Vatiyan, the Talayari, the Nirghunti, the Madayan, irrigation-man, are all met with, and there are, in addition, the village watch, the Kavalgar and the Thandan, the village astrologer, the Pandaran or the priest of the Shudra classes, as well as the dancing-girl and the village drummer. Usually they are under the submission of the village Panchayat, but sometimes they are associated with the village temple. In Christian villages I have often found artisans and menials belonging to the church, who claim right to work for it, and who are also employed by the villagers and given small payments at harvest. New functionaries also appear, such as the pastor, who also acts as the village headman or accountant, the evangelist, the catechist or *upadeshi*. The church is usually under the direct control and management of the village which has built and maintained it and which often pays its functionaries in certain measures of grain. In the village Ramapuram, which is in Travancore, which is composed entirely of Christian population, the lands belonging to the church have been bought out of *grama-panam*, and each cultivator pays at every harvest half a *marakal* per *kotta*, i.e., the net yield after harvesting, for the maintenance of the church. Besides the customary staff of village artisans and menials, there is the *Vellaparvaikaran*, who watches crops, guards cattle and supervises over the distribution of water for irrigation. Each house pays three-fourths of a rupee for each earning member to meet the expenses of the annual festival of the church. Fees on marriage, baptism and burial are distributed between the priest, catechist and the church. A school is also maintained out of *grama-panam*. There is often the house to house alms-collection (*Pediyari*) for the support of Christian students and orphans.

In Malabar, besides the artisans, who are indispensable, there are found such functionaries as the Vati, the Tantri, the Imbranthiri, the Chettian, and the Maran, all of whom play a very important part in the socio-religious life of the Nairs. The goldsmith now comes to be very important, for he has to make Tali for every Nair girl.

Whether in the Karayogam or the compact Nair brotherhood or in the church congregation, the artisans, menials and functionaries are paid remuneration sometimes by a bit of rent-free land, sometimes by allowances of so many measures of grain and always of perquisites in kind like cloth, banana and cocoanuts, chiefly on occasions of festivals as well as domestic ceremonies. In many cases special functionaries are appointed by the village or community to collect the grain wages. In the Nair country the unit is the Tarwad, the joint family managed by the Karnavan. Several Tarwad make a Taru, and several Taru make one Nadu or Desham. Such is the structure of the village grouping, which has also determined the economic constitution of the community, and the distribution and employment of the local staff of menials, artisans and functionaries in each group unit.

WESTERN INDIA.

In the Bombay Presidency each village has a similar regular staff of village officers and servants. In addition to the headman and the accountant, the full establishment of village servants comprises the following members: the village family-priest, *ghamot*; the potter, *kumbhar*; the barber, *hajam*; the carpenter, *suthar*; the blacksmith, *luhar*; the tailor, *darji*; the shoe-maker, *mochi*; the washerman, *dhobi*; the tanner, *khalpo*; the sweeper, *dher*; the scavenger, *bhangio*; the watchman, *wartanio*, or *rakha*.

Brahmans do duty as village priests, teachers, and performers of ceremonies. They were formerly supported by an assignment of land, *pasaita*. Their claims were settled under the Summary Settlement Act (Bombay Act VII of 1863), and they were allowed to remain in possession of their land on payment of a quit-rent equal to one-fourth part (four annas in the rupee) of its regular rental. The village Brahman acts as family priest to all classes of the Hindu villagers, except to the Dhers, Bhangias, and Khalpas, whose touch to a Hindu is pollution. He is supported by fixed allotments of grain, by special supplies of uncooked food when caste dinners are given, and by gifts of money on occasions of marriage or investiture with the sacred thread.

The services due by the carpenter and the blacksmith are confined to the making and mending of agricultural tools. All other work, such as making or repairing carts or building houses, is paid for by the individual requiring the work to be done. There has been little change in the position of villagers of this class during the last fifty years. The land, *pasaita*, formerly held by them, has been continued to them on payment of a quit-rent of one-fourth of the ordinary rental. As in former times, the villagers continue to pay their carpenter and blacksmith in grain, and in return their ploughs and harrows are repaired. When a villager requires other work to be done,—a cart to be made, or a house built,—he pays the village carpenter in cash at the current rates of labour. If he has to build a house, the villager might engage a skilled carpenter from the nearest town; but, as a rule, he would also employ the village carpenter.

The village potter supplies the villagers with articles of earthenware, and, where there is no regular waterman, the potter brings travellers their supply of water. He

keeps a separate water-jar for each caste, and in this way travellers of all castes, even Brahmans can take water from him. Besides his duty as a waterman, he has to smear the floor of the *patel's* office, *chora*, and in some other ways acts as his servant. The potter is paid by the villagers in grain, and, besides, was formerly in the enjoyment of rent-free land. On payment of quit-rent of one-fourth of their ordinary rental, the potter has been allowed to remain in possession of his lands.

The village tailor does all their sewing for men, and makes bodices for women. The villagers generally pay him a regular amount in grain. As the tailor does no service to the State, the quit-rent on his lands was fixed at one-half of the ordinary rent of the lands. There are more villages without than with a tailor.

The washerman cleans the men's clothes. But, like the tailor, is not found in every village establishment. He is paid in grain by the villagers, and his land has been continued to him on payment of a quit-rent equal to one-half of the ordinary rental.

The village barber not only shaves and cuts nails, but is the village surgeon, knowing how to bleed, and in a few cases how to set bones. The barber's wife is commonly the midwife. Perhaps because he is at rest almost all the day, the barber is the man chosen at night to act as torch-bearer when a traveller passes through the village, or when the *patel* is on the track of thieves. He is paid by an allotment of grain; and because of the public services he performs as a torch-bearer, he has been continued in possession of his land on payment of a quit-rent of one-fourth part of its ordinary rental.

The shoe-maker repairs the shoes of the community, and makes up what little leather is required in yoking the bullocks. As the shoe-maker performs no public

service, his quit-rent has been fixed at one-half of the ordinary rental.

The tanner and leather-dresser prepares the leather from the hides of the cattle, sheep, and goats that die about the village. As the tanner performs no public service the quit-rent he pays has been fixed at one-half of ordinary rental. As the skins of animals that die in the village are the tanner's perquisite, he gets but little grain from the villagers.

The watchmen form the village guard. In the northern parts of the district they are for the most part Kolis. South of the Narbada and in the Broach subdivision they are chiefly Bhils. Except some of the Kolis in Jambusar, who have swords and shields, almost all watchmen are armed with bows and arrows. None of them are provided with fire-arms. Sums of money are often escorted by them from the village to the collector's treasury at the head station. In some villages there are fifteen or twenty watchmen, in others not more than four. The largest establishment of men is generally to be found in the villages of the Jambusar sub-division. The watchmen get no allotment of grain from the villagers. They are paid by the State, partly in cash and partly by the grant of rent-free lands. Though very poor, the trustworthiness of these men when in charge of treasure is remarkable. Not only are they perfectly honest themselves, but will resist to death any attempt to rob them of their charge.

The scavenger, *Bhangio*, removes filth of every description, including night-soil. He is ready, at the call of all travellers, to show the road as far as the next village. He carries letters and messages; he attends travellers on their putting up at the village, showing them where to encamp, giving information of the stranger's arrival, and fetching for them whatever may be

wanting. He is in a surprising degree intelligent and active; and though his language at home is Gujarati, he can, as a rule, speak Hindustani better than any other man in the village. Some of the Bhangios cultivate. They get but scanty allotments of grain from the villagers, but generally go the rounds of an evening, about seven o'clock, when dinner is over and collect scraps. As their services are most useful to the public, the Bhangios have been continued in the enjoyment of their land free from rent.

Like the Bhangio, the Dher acts as a sweeper; but, unlike the Bhangio, he will not remove night-soil. He also carries letters and baggage and shows boundaries. They sometimes get allotments of grain from the villagers, not so much as barbers, but more than Bhangios. On account of their usefulness as public servants, the Dhers were allowed to retain their land free of rent.

Besides the ordinary establishments, special circumstances sometimes lead villages to engage some of the following men: the *Kosia*, or water-drawer, who draws the water from the village well by means of a leather bag and a rope made of green hide, supplied at the village expense. The pair of bullocks used by the *Kosia* is furnished in turn by the cultivators. The water drawn is chiefly for the use of the cattle, and falls into a large reservoir adjoining the well from which they drink. Some of these wells and reservoirs are handsome structures. As a rule, these men receive no allotment of grain from the villagers. They sometimes cultivate, and have been continued in the enjoyment of their lands on payment of one-half of the ordinary rental. The *Parabio*, or water-supplier, who gets his name from *parab*, a place where travellers are supplied with water, takes his station under a tree on the high road, not perhaps near the village, but the place best suited for his purpose. He has by him

several pots of clean cold water, which he gives for drink to all passengers who ask for it. The *Parabio* is either a man or an elderly woman of high caste, so that the water may be unexceptionable to all. Sometimes the water supplier is a man of low caste—a Koli, Talavia or Bhil; even then travellers of high caste might take water from his hands so long as he had more than one pot for water. High-caste men generally, however, make themselves independent of water-sellers by carrying with them a metal pot tied by a string. Men of this class hold no village land. Travellers and the people of the villages near generally pay them something. Except in large villages the goldsmith seldom forms part of the village establishment. He formerly worked for the *Patel*, but was never paid for his services in grain. When his help is wanted he receives the current rate of wages in money. The land held by the *Soni* was assessed at its full value. The *Barot* or *Bhat*, singer and genealogist, is seldom met with as a village servant in the Broach district. The practice of employing men of this class as security for the fulfilment of an agreement has not been in force for more than fifty years. The *Bhat* registers births and deaths, and for this work receives cash payments. He will also take food in a Kanbi's or Rajput's house, though he will not eat along with his hosts. The lands formerly held by *Bhats* were not granted on condition of service. He was allowed to remain in possession on paying a quit-rent under the provisions of the Summary Settlement Act. The *Akhun*, or teacher, is a Muhammadan, and was formerly found in Bohora villages. The Bohoras now learnless Urdu than they formerly learnt. The *Akhun* enjoys no rent-free land. The *Waid*, or physician, administers to the village community, but is found only in large villages, perhaps in one village out of every twenty. The practice of these doctors has fallen off of late years.

These men hold no service land. By caste they are generally Brahmans, though some are Hajams, and one in Amod is a Shravak. The *Joshi*, astrologer and astronomer, makes almanacs, assigns dates, duration of seasons, divisions and periods of the year. He names days for sowing or beginning the different field works. No one but a *Joshi* can cast a horoscope. This is a very elaborate piece of work. The paper, from fifty to sixty yards long, is filled with pictures, and takes the astrologer from three to four months to prepare. But few people can understand what has been written. The higher classes of Hindus, Brahmans and Rajputs, generally have horoscopes, but Kanbis and Kolis seldom have them. Again, Molesalams employ an astrologer, but Bohoras do not. Men of this class hold no service land. The *Bhawayas*, or strolling players, are found in the establishments of only a few villages. They go about in parties of from fifteen to twenty under a headman called *naik*. One of the parties prepares the pieces, but none of the plays are written out. They hold no service lands. *Gosai* or *Wairagi*, Hindu devotees.—In almost every village land has been granted as the endowment of the station, or *math*, of one of these devotees. The *math* is commonly a pleasant open building, and travellers are accommodated and hospitably treated there. "The *Gosai* or *Wairagi*," says Colonel Williams, "is respected and looked up to by all castes of the inhabitants, and often contributes, by his impartial influence, to the preservation of harmony and good order in the community." The above remarks apply also to Musalman devotees, *Fakirs*. They are not unfrequently maintained in Hindu villages. And a share of the village land is often assigned for the benefit of the tomb of some Musalman saint. In all Bohora and other Musalman villages a portion of the land is set apart for the support of a

mosque and to maintain an officer, or *Mulla*, to keep the place clean and in good order. The *Mulla* also receives presents from the people, an allotment of grain, or the gift of some article of dress. In almost every village one or more Hindu temples are endowed with plots of land. There is generally a council of villagers chosen to see that the proceeds of the land are applied to pay the temple priest, *Pujari*, and keep the place in order. Fifty years ago tanks were often endowed with land to pay for their repair; now there are said to be no lands of this class.

In works, such as digging a well, or clearing out a tank, the expense or labour is distributed amongst the holders of lands at so much on the half acre, or *bigha*, in the possession of each man.

In the larger villages in the plains the full staff of office-bearers and servants is generally found; in the smaller villages, especially in the hilly west, the staff is by no means complete. Many of the smaller western villages are composed of a few Koli families with one or even without any family of Mhabs and with one accountant for a group who usually lives in the largest village of his circle.

In most villages the bulk of the people are Brahmanical Hindus; in some the bulk are Lingayats. Brahmanical Hindus and Lingayats have separate religious office-bearers: the Brahmanical Hindus, *Joshis*, *Purohits* and *Mathadhipatis* and the Lingayats, *Mathadayya Ganacharis*, *Chalvadis*, and *Basvis*. Except Panchals, who have their own priests, the village *Joshi* is the priest of Brahmans, Salis, Marathas, Raddis, and other Brahmanical classes. He generally holds land on quit-rent. Besides officiating as a priest at ceremonies, the *Jo hi* reads the Hindu calendar, draws up horoscopes, and tells lucky moments. In a Brahman's house, besides cash, the *Joshi* receives cooked

food, and in a non-Brahman house he is given undressed food. In a Brahman family the *Joshi* is not the sole priest. His fees are generally divided between himself and the *Purohit* or family priest who helps the *Joshi* in the ceremonies and worships the house gods. The *Mathadhipati* or monastery-head is the deputy of the religious guide or *svami* of the village people and holds his appointment on the yearly payment of fixed sums to the *svami*. He inquires into breaches of caste and religious rules, and submits his inquiries for the orders of the *svami*. The *Mathadhipati* receives fees on every village ceremony. Vaishnavs as a rule feed their *Mathadhipatis* better and show them greater respect than Smarts. The Lingayat religious officers are the *Mathadayya* or monastery-head, the *Ganachari* or monastery-manager, the *Chalvadi* or Mhar sacristan, and the *Basvi* or female temple servant. The *Mathadayya* or monastery-head presides at all Lingayat ceremonies, levies fines on breaches of caste discipline, and admits fresh adherents to the Lingayat sect. His services are paid by fixed fees. The *Ganachari* or monastery-manager presides at inquiries into divorce cases and gets fees in cash. The *Chalvadi* or Mhar sacristan attends religious meetings carrying an image of a bull and a bell which he repeatedly rings and sings religious songs. He lives upon the charity of the people. The *Basvi* or female ministrant calls the people to social and religious ceremonies, sweeps the temple, and prepares the reception-hall for public meetings. Of the *Kazi* and *Mulla*, the Musalman religious heads, the *Kazi* registers marriages and the *Mulla* leads the public prayers and slays animals for food. Besides in some cases enjoying rent-free land, these officers receive fees in cash.

Each villager is free to graze any number of cattle in the village pasture which in most cases lies near the village. The villagers generally use as fuel cowdung

cakes, *chipdis* or millet-stalk refuse and cotton stalks. They seldom bring wood from the forest lands. Common forest lands where they exist are used for grazing. Except by the degraded Mhars and Mangs, who have generally a well of their own, the village drinking reservoir or well is used by all classes. In villages which have no separate reservoir or well for the Mhars and Mangs they have their pitchers filled from the buckets of other villagers. Contributions to works of local usefulness, making and repairing wells, temples and reservoirs, are paid by the well-to-do in cash contributions and by the poor in labour.

Though in the main the large villages are large editions of the hamlets, they have one or two special features. The chief peculiarity is the village tower. The tower, generally but not in every case, stands within the village enclosure. Almost all are of rough stone with or without earth. They are hollow and have generally one opening in the wall about eight feet from the ground. They seldom seem suited for defence. They are rather watch-towers from which the people in the fields got warning of the approach of bands of Pendharis and other mounted robbers in time to hurry themselves and their cattle within the shelter of the village walls. Now the need of them is forgotten. They are taken to be a trace of the good old days when life was easy and each village had enough to spare to deck itself with walls and a tower only for look's sake.

In Kathiawar every village belongs to one or more proprietors. It either forms part of some State, or it has been assigned to a relation of the chief, or to one of his wives, or given in charity, or on service tenure, or it may have been divided among a number of shareholders. Whatever the rights of proprietorship, the constitution of the village remains unchanged. Each, even the smallest

has its *patel* or headman, its *habaldar* or constable, and its *pagi* or tracker. These are the germs of all the village officers who are paid by the State or the inhabitants, and in them rests the executive power of the community.

The average percentage of the classes who make up a village community are, according to Sir G. Le Grand Jacob, two families of carpenters, two of blacksmiths, two of tailors, two of potters, one or two of shoemakers, two of barbers, four of shepherds, eight or ten of Dheds, three or four of Vantias, and eight or ten of watchmen.

All these classes have to settle the terms of their residence with the chief or proprietor and have to pay certain taxes according to the nature of their calling, one of the most striking of which is *veth* or unpaid service. As the community increases in number it draws artisans and mechanics of a higher order to meet its wants. The *Patel* is the most important member of the village; his office is hereditary and is confined to the leading family of the most important section of the community. In some instances, where the husbandmen are divided into several sections, each section has its own headman.

The headman generally enjoys his land rent-free or on payment of a small quit-rent, and receives many perquisites in the shape of presents of food or complimentary dinners. His duties consist in taking the chief part in all religious ceremonies, in raising subscriptions for general purposes, such as sinking a well or repairing the village wall or pond or temple, or for the entertainment of guests, in protecting the village boundaries, in being answerable for the tracks of all thieves brought within the limits, in providing carts for the public service, and in protecting the interest of the community of the]

State. He has to see that the crops are carried to the village threshing floor, and are there properly heaped until the State has taken its share, that the cultivators do not encroach on each other's lands, and that criminals are not harboured. He is in fact the general referee and the most important member of the small society, and on his temper and judgment in a great measure depends the general well-being of the community. Of late years a police patel has been added to the list of the village officials. The office may be held, and in several instances is held, by the hereditary revenue patel. His duties are, to report all crimes to the nearest police authority, and to aid the police in discovering offenders and bringing them to justice. The *habaldar* or constable of the village is the patel's henchman and personal assistant. He watches the crops, and sees that they are not carried away by stealth. He also keeps a sharp eye on the grain in the village threshing floor, and sees that the claims of the chief are duly respected. He commands the village watch and trackers, and assigns them their duties; he sees that stray animals are pounded, that the streets are kept clean, that the gates are shut at nightfall, that improper characters do not find shelter in the village office or *chora*, that supplies of grass and wood are provided for guests and travellers, and that municipal rules are not broken. He holds land rent-free, and has a right to a share of each heap of grain. In some villages he receives a fixed salary, and when his duties are enlarged, as in the case of a large populous village or town, he becomes a *kotwal* or superintendent of the city police.

Pasaitas are the village guards and police; they are under the general control and superintendence of the constable and headman, and are Muhammadans, Rajputs, Kolis, Ahirs, and Mahias or Mers in the parts of the province where those tribes are most numerous. They

are appointed by the chief, and holds subsistence lands on service tenure; their office is generally hereditary, but they can be removed at the chief's pleasure. Some of them, especially the Kolis, are excellent trackers; they are also the village messengers, and carry communications between the chief and the head of the village. The carpenters, barbers, and tailors, who go under the general name of *vasvayas*, are paid by the rest of the community for ordinary work in kind, and for special work in cash. In some villages they hold rent-free lands. Dheds do the ordinary scavengering of each village under the direction of the headman, and, in addition to holding rent-free lands, are entitled to the skins of all animals that die within the village limits, though in some places the chief takes the skins as a perquisite, and farms the collection of them to the highest bidder. Nearly every village of any size has its priest or *Gor*, who performs marriage and other ceremonies, and is paid a fee for each ceremony. Another religious Hindu officer is the *Vyas* who reads extracts from Hindu Mythology. Among Muhammadans, the *Kazi* and *Mulla* perform similar duties to the *Gor* and *Vyas*. They are paid in food, clothes, or money, according to the people's means.

The village artisans, menials and functionaries are fairly the same throughout the greater part of India. Of course the nature of the village services will be determined to a great extent by the land-tenures, the religion and the form of social economy of the people as well as the process of centralization and decentralisation in relation to village administration, but these would represent specific variations of the central type of Indian economic organisation. Their number also varies from the *bara-baluti* in Central India to the *panch paoni* in Chota Nagpur. In every part of India there are always the village carpenter, blacksmith, and potter, so essential

for agricultural economy. They make and repair all agricultural implements and domestic utensils, find their own tools and all necessary materials necessary for performing the work, while the villagers supply the raw materials. Then there are the oilman, the goldsmith, the tanner, the barber, and the washerman. There are also the schoolmaster and the priest. The latter are sometimes the Hindu priest, the *Bhat*, the *Joshi* and the *Purohit* or the *Mathadhipati* and the *Ganachari* in Bombay, or the Muhammadan *Maulvi* and the *Mulla* in East Bengal, or the evangelist and the catechist in Travancore or the *Embrayntheri* and the *Chethian* in Malabar. In Kangra there are hereditary practisers of the art of medicine and land is granted to them in support of the art. The Irrigation man, the *Neerghunti* in Mysore or the *Madayan* in Tanjore is important according to the conditions of agriculture, while the *Kavalgar*, the watcher of crops and cattle is an inheritance from a time of disorder. The Kallars and Maravars of Southern India, the Pannagars in Malabar, the Gujars and the Jats in the United Provinces, the Chaukidars in Bengal and the Ramoses in Bombay play the important part of the private police. The Chamars and Chuhras of the Punjab correspond to the Tothis and Talayris of the South, village scavengers and messengers, who are largely employed to go on messages when needed, to attend on Government officials who come into the village and to sweep the lanes and remove impurities. Tanning is done by the Chamars in Bengal and in the Punjab. He gets the carcasses of village cattle and his wife holds the office of village midwife. The *Barga* or worshipper of the indigenous deities in the Central Provinces corresponds to the Kolhan, the village potter and worshipper of Maree-amman in the South. Thus the above descriptions of the detailed and particular organisation of rural functionaries, artisans

and menials in different parts of India give us the regional type with its sub-species and varieties as an interesting order and system in economic morphology.

Everywhere the members of the village community are paid by giving them grants of land free of any rent or in shares out of the common heap of grain at the threshing floor or from the individual harvest of every villager. This system is particularly suited to an agricultural country as it has the advantage of being unaffected by any rise in the price of foodgrains. Whatever the fluctuation in the price of these, the labourer's wage remains the same. The characteristic structure of rural economic organisation has evolved its particular methods of remuneration of labour, sometimes of rent-free land, and by allowances in grain and perquisites in kind as well as the methods of exchange through a long chain of peripatetic dealers, pedlars and hawkers, of wares and raw materials, and their emporiums, the fairs and weekly markets, where producers, middlemen and consumers can meet periodically and combine trade and business with social and religious ends.

It should also be noted that the customary dues of labour are not so fixed as is often supposed. We have already seen how in Bombay the rates of wages are variable. In the Panjab, it should be noted that the economic services performed by the labourers and their dues vary from village to village, and in a particular village are liable to revision at any time.

The entries in the village records are little more than statements of what tasks are performed by the *Kamins*, and what they receive from the proprietors at the present time. On a claim being made by either party, it would be open for the other to shew that the terms of the agreement had been altered in practice. This is why in taking down notes on the subject of dues and services in

different villages, I had to overcome the fears and suspicions both of the artisans and the villagers who were very careful lest my entries may be legal evidence and alter the existing claims.

Over and above the dues assigned to the labourers for their work, they have the privilege of being allowed residence in the village. The performance of the tasks is an incidence of the residence, and not a personal liability of the *Kamin*; and the *Kamin* can free himself at any time by leaving the village.

The residence in a more or less isolated group and the settled habits of the agricultural population of India have determined the organisation of labour which is remunerated by allotments of lands in secure tenure held on conditions of service by the village functionaries and more or less free from all demands. Should any of these village functionaries who enjoyed sarkar lands or were in the receipt of portions of grain (*mura-batta*) and bundles of straw (*hore-hullu*), misconduct themselves, they would be dismissed and another member of the same family would succeed. This fair fabric of communal industry has been a victim to the forces of capitalistic landlordism and revenue-farming. With the abolition of the old Custom of the State grain-share arose the practice of fixing lump sums in cash as revenue for which various contractors speculated. Lands were mortgaged and sold to bankers and others who advanced or were security for the revenue. The headman declined in importance, elements of oppression and hard bargainings were introduced, and the inner harmony of the social economy of the self-governing village and the Panchayet system has been attacked. The decline of the Panchayet has gone hand in hand with the disintegration of the communal employment of labour when it is only the headman and the accountant who are recognised as

Government servants and who get regular dues proportionate to the revenue of the village while the other functionaries whose services are very important, economically, are neglected in the scheme of administrative organisation. When these latter do not get any support from Government, the ryots deny their claims and glaring grievances get no redress. It is true that in some cases the administrative officers are authorised to deal summarily with cases of non-payment of the *mirarsis*, *marahs*, *russooms*, *swatantrams* (shares of grain as they are differently called) to the village functionaries but such a rule remains a dead letter; the revenue officers seem to be apathetic or overworked. Those parts of the village community necessary to Government have been upheld; the headman, the accountant and the messengers with their official holdings of land or monthly salaries. Still the priest, the astrologer and the Mullah have probably obtained *inam* fields—we may almost say “glebe land” on which to support themselves. The Mahar and the Pariah, the lowest among the servants, can in many parts of India enforce his right to a share in the harvest. The Vattiyān or the sweeper has his hereditary land and so has the village watchman where his services are indispensable even in the existing system of administration. The barber and the washerman are still in great vogue, notably the former who is important at betrothals and marriages. The shoe-maker or cobbler plies his craft as long as there are cattle in the villages to die for him to appropriate. The carpenter and the blacksmith who fashion agricultural implements, the potter who furnishes the household utensils, such as the water-pots for the Persian wheels used in irrigation, the cowherd, etc., whose services are indispensable in agricultural economy are still paid by gram-fees, with allowances of a bundle of wheat, barley or *jowar* tied by a string of

three straws length (*tirmani* in the Panjab, *murukultina hore* in Mysore). *Inam* lands are taken of possession by the Government without a due recognition of the services the original village craftsmen and menials perform; and while in the joint or landlord village (Panjab, United Provinces, and Central Provinces) the common land for grazing and wood-cutting that belongs to the village is broken up for cultivation on account of decreasing fertility and increasing pressure on the soil, in the ryotwari village (Bombay, Madras) the waste outside for graveyard, cattle-shed, pond, grave which is now Government land is broken up because this means more revenue. What is necessary above all to-day is a thorough examination from village to village of the claims of the economic services rendered by the staff of village artisans and menials, and of their capability of adaptation to modern social and economic needs and if the rehabilitation of the Panchayet is part of a settled administrative policy, nothing can more help in its development and the co-ordination of its activities than the recognition by the State of the responsible status and privileges of the Punch and other indigenous village bodies, assemblies and groups in the exercise of their immemorial function of local self-government and economic management. It has been already observed that in their Central Asian provinces the Russians have been careful to preserve the local institutions of the Eastern peoples and to profit by their inherent ability for self-government. In the Russian administration both the permanent village (*volost*) and the nomad village (*aul*) still continue to elect their headman and elders. The judges of the village courts still continue to decide petty civil and criminal cases. These as well as the *mirabs* who characteristically enough correspond to the South Indian *nirghantis* and *madayans*, officials who allot the water supply for purposes

of irrigation, are still elected by manhood suffrage and recognised as parts of the administration. Similarly in the Dutch Indies, Government regulations provide for the self-government of villages under their headman, called *loerah* assisted as in the Indian villages by a little staff of functionaries such as a secretary, night and field guards and priests. Local self-administration and the ubiquitous Panch are among the East's rich and successful experiments in communal life and organisation and the rehabilitation of these will be attended with much better results than the introduction of readymade systems from abroad. The strength of the communal consciousness and its efficacy for reconstruction are shown by the belief still prevalent among certain castes in Indian villages that their god is present in their caste Panchayet meetings and that any lying or prevarication will be attended with supernatural penalties. *Panch men Parameshwar*—the Most High inspires the Panchayet says the well-known proverb.

2. *The City Guilds.*

The communal type of organisation is not only characteristic of rural life and labour but also of urban industry, and future reconstruction must build directly on a foundation of pre-existent industrial groups and the popular custom that governs their relations.

Where more than a few families of artisans and workmen have settled in a village or city the guild organisation develops, but this varies in coherence and solidarity in different places. As in the village community there is among the peasants a council presided over by its elders and regulating the communal concerns, so in every town, not only among the general traders and merchants but among the artisans and craftsmen, there is a guild prescribing trade rules and settling caste and trade disputes

under the guidance of the *Mahajan* and the *Seth*. Sometimes the guild is nothing but a temporary or permanent union of caste-people playing the same craft and trade and framing general rules of conduct and social morality and observances; while sometimes it regulates trades or wages, the conditions of employment of labour and the use of machinery as well as the education of apprentices and the protection and maintenance of the destitute and the helpless. In the latter case the caste *Punchayet* not only decides petty disputes and cases of misbehaviour but it becomes in addition not unlike the modern trade-union. In some cities the trade council is distinct from the caste council; for example in Ahmedabad there are four castes of carpenters and, therefore, four assemblies for caste purposes, but only one carpenters' *Mahajan*; so the silk *Mashru* weavers' *Mahajan* in the same city contains both *Kanbis* and *Vanias*. Many more instances might be cited. In the Punjab some of the classes of artisans, such as *Lohars*, *Jolahas*, *Telis*, *Dhobis*, are more trade-guilds than tribes, and a family giving up its traditional occupation and taking to another would, after a generation or two, be considered to belong to the caste, whose common occupation it had adopted, so that the different castes are not divided from each other by fixed and lasting boundaries. Still so strong is the tendency to follow the ancestral occupation and so closely are the persons belonging to each such caste or trade-guild inter-connected by community of occupation, which generally carries with it inter-marriage and similarity of social customs, that these well-recognised divisions are of real importance in the framework of society.

In Surat and Ahmedabad, Jaipur and Delhi, Benares and Dacca and Conjeeverum and Madura, the guild organisation and the powers exercised by the *Vania*, the *Sheth*, the *Mistri* and the *Mahajan* deserve the most

careful investigation. In different regions and among different occupations the solidarity of the industrial and mercantile guilds and their capabilities for self-government have varied, and thus the recognition of their place and status at the hands both of ruling authorities and of the community as a whole have been different. Again, a flourishing guild which regularly derives its fee income from monthly or annual collections of a certain percentage on profits and spends it on charity, feeding the poor, *pinjrapols*, dharmasalas, tanks, shade-trees, cattle-troughs, fountains, supply of rice, ghee, oil and other perquisites to temples, anointing and scents for the bath of the god, procession at festivals, etc., naturally commands greater prestige than a guild which contributes its small income derived from occasional subscriptions to the expenses of a village or city festival and amusement. Similarly the jurisdiction of the guild and its power to resist outside competition vary. In a small village, the guild is all-powerful and the caste coincides with the guild lending it a double authority. In cities where there is a large number of workmen, artisans and traders who do not belong to the guild the power diminishes unless, as is very often the case, different guilds mutually support one another and form a loose union to protect themselves from the forces of competition and exploitation from outside. The federation of groups of guilds has been a characteristic development in Indian economic history.

In the Bombay Presidency the Komtis, who are general traders and merchants, are bound together as a body and their disputes are settled at caste meetings, under their hereditary headman or *mahajan*. Important questions are referred to their chief religious head or *Guru Bhaskaracharyya*, a Yajurvedi Apastambh Brahmin, the deputy of Shankaracharyya. He has four monasteries at Bodhan and Nander in the Nizam's country, near

Hampi, 36 N. W. of Bolari, and near Pendgaon in Maiswi. He occasionally visits his followers. The penalty of breach of caste-rules and of trade morality is a heavy fine, which goes to the *Guru* and objects of charity. Among the Lingayat Vanis the power of the guild shows no signs of failing. All disputes are settled at meetings of the Shetya, Mathapati and the castemen. If the chief *Guru* is present, he presides. The meetings are held in religious houses or *mathas*. The Shetya is the most influential hereditary headman. He had formerly privileges and rights equal to those of a police *patel*. What a *patel* is to a village, a Shetya is to a Lingayet *peth* or ward of a town. The Mathapati opens the proceedings by stating the object of the meeting. The question is discussed, and the majority of votes carries the day. The offender is fined and until the fine is paid is put out of caste. If he is to be let back he has to pay a certain sum to different religious houses in the town, gifts to Jangams and in rare cases he has to give a caste-feast. Similarly Gujrat Vanis who are scattered in small numbers throughout the Presidency spend the fines levied for caste and trade offences in charity and on caste-feasts. The Kunam or Kunvi Vanis have a powerful trade-guild and regard their headman, the Shetya with great respect. He attends marriages, and the fathers of the bride and bridegroom present him with betel and mark his brow with sandal paste. His office is hereditary and traders consult him on trade questions. He fixes the market rates and all members of the community are forbidden to undersell on pain of fine or loss of caste as determined by the Panch. The merchants and bankers' guild, Sahu-kars' guild and also that of retail-dealers and traders have their ramifications throughout the smaller cities and they have their organisation to collect and apply the common funds.

In most Cutch towns there is a merchants' guild, *mahajan*. At the sea-ports some of its members are appointed by the State to fix on insurance questions, the amount to be paid for damage to the ship or cargo. Their awards are respected by both parties. The guild derives an income from a tax known by the name of *Dharmo layo*. This is levied by the State along with the excise duties, and its proceeds are handed to the guild manager. The income is spent partly in offerings to the Valabhacharya Maharajas and partly in the support of animal homes. Most of the leading members of the guilds are Vaniās and Bhatias.

In Konkan some of the larger towns have officers called *shetes* whose duties in past times appear to have corresponded closely to those of the Gujrat trade-guilds. These *shetes* were hereditary offices enjoying certain rights, privileges and perquisites, and with respect to the market, *peth*, hold a position similar to that held by the *patels* in the rural portions of the towns. Throughout Gujrat in all the chief centres of trade some of the Vania capitalists, under the name of *mahajans* or great men form a merchant guild. The guild fixes the rates of exchange and discount, and levies fees on certain transactions, spending the proceeds on human and religious objects. The head of their community, the *Nagarseth* or city merchant was formerly a man of much power and importance, though of late years, with the decay of his functions, his influence has been much reduced. For the settlement of social disputes each sub-division of Vaniās has in each town one or more leading families. The representative of this family under the name of *patel* chooses some 4 or 5 members from the community and with their help decides the question in dispute. The members of most associated trades hold a yearly guild-feast, meeting the cost either by a special subscription or

from the common fund. The chief occasion when one member feasts the whole body is when he joins the guild.

In Kathiawar, goldsmiths, carpenters, coppersmiths, tailors, blacksmiths, potters, barbers, shoemakers, and other craftsmen, being generally of one caste, have each a caste organization or *mahajan*, which to some extent take the place of craft guilds. Dealers in cotton, grain, groceries, piece-goods, and other articles belong to several castes, and form a trade guild distinct from their caste organization. This trade-guild is the head *mahajan* and is composed of four or five of the leading local merchants. These leading men have the title of *shethia*. There is no regular or hereditary post of head merchant or *nagarsheth* in Kathiawar, though the title is sometimes used out of respect to a trader of marked wealth or unusual personal influence. Social disputes are settled by caste councils or *mahajans*. If the decision of the caste council is not obeyed the defaulter is either fined or turned out. Fines recovered from defaulters form a caste fund which is used either in giving dinners to the caste or in buying cooking and drinking vessels. Disputes about time bargains and other complicated trade questions are generally referred to the head *mahajan* or trade guild. If the decision of the trade guild is not obeyed, the defaulters, as a rule, are cut off from all trade intercourse and in addition are sometimes turned out of caste. In many cases the trade guild levies a tax on trade and manufactures, and, under the management of the head guild spends the proceeds in feeding the poor, in supporting animal homes or *pinjrapols*, and in building rest-houses or *dharmshalas*, cattle-troughs or *havadas*, and water-sheds or *parabs*. To decide questions in which the whole industrial class is interested the several caste guilds meet, and, where the question is one of taxation, go to the local chief to redress their grievance. In some cases, a man who takes to a craft different from

that practised by his father has to pay a sum in charity or *dharmada* on joining the guild.

The federation of craftsmen's guild and their general efficiency are best illustrated from the guild organization in the city of Madura. There the *Vishwakarmakars* are represented by (1) *Kollum* (blacksmith), (2) *Takshan* (carpenter), (3) *Kormar* (coppersmith), (4) *Koltakshan* (stonecarver), and (5) *Tattar* (goldsmith). The last is divided into (a) Telugu, (b) southern, (c) Madhyaka sub-castes. Each of these different castes and sub-castes has a headman, called *Nattamai*, who does not hold his position by hereditary right, but holds a life-office. Then there are 5 *Karriasthan* for blacksmiths and carpenters and three more for coppersmiths, stonecarvers and goldsmiths. They are subordinate to the headman. There are three *Jadipallais*, who are servants for all these castes. He does not get any monthly wages, but is given fees and presents on occasions of marriage and death, etc. (*Barthanai*). The chief headman of all these "seven tribes and five castes" is called the *Jadiperiadanakaran* and his council is called *Panchabramasabha*. Its authority is chiefly exercised in deciding marriage disputes and punishing social misbehaviour, in collecting and applying the common funds in the management of the temple of *Kamakshi* and of a procession at the close of *Dashahara*, and generally in taking cognisance of any matter which concerns the members as a craft.

The general meeting of all these industrial castes is called the *Mahasabha*, which meets under the presidency of the chief headman at the *Kamakshi* temple during the *Dashahara*. It is only at such meetings that the chief headman is elected. Ordinarily, however, this meeting decides which caste is to undertake the expenses of the different days of festivals, what subscription should be given from the common funds, what

would be the arrangements for processions, etc. The headman of each of the separate industrial caste is elected in the meeting of the particular caste people at which the *Natamais* of the other castes also attend. The *Jadipillai* summons them and notifies the object in time of the meeting. The chief headman and all other headmen suggest names, which are announced by the *Jadipillai*. The *Sabha* expresses assent by silence. If there are objections, the *Jadipillai* announces the next name for acceptance. Among the goldsmiths of the Telugu sub-castes, one of the *Jadipillais* is a woman, the widow of the former *Jadipillai*, who died issueless. Forty years ago, the goldsmiths' guild fixed wages at 12 as. per pagoda weight of gold and allowed wastage of a grain for one pagoda weight. Even now the guild of the *Kasukara Chettis* decides the prices of goldbars and of sovereign from day to day.

But it is among the *Vaishyas*, general traders and merchants among whom the most incontestibly useful function of the guild namely that of arbitrating in trade disputes is found in Madura. There are also written agreements fixing the prices of commodities and general regulations maintaining a high standard of trade morality. Reports of cheating, complaints for false weights and false measurements as well as disputes regarding monetary claims and breaches of contracts are considered by the guild, and even now there are instances of social ostracism and punishments by fine for violation of guild rules. False measurement may go up the extent of half a measure in a bag of 54 measures of cereals other than paddy and $\frac{1}{4}$ a measure in case of paddy. Any case of deficiency beyond this must be compensated for by the trader according to the guild rule. There is an agreement in writing about this. An arbitrator, who is also a shop-keeper, is appointed to judge a case like this, when

a customer reports this to the *Periadanakaran* or *Kanakan*. There is one *Periadanakaran* each among traders in cereals, traders in paddy, dealers in bamboo, grocers in cocoanuts, dealers in cloth, *Natukatachettis*, dealers in plantain and dealers in flowers. Any trade disputes relating to the trades in these commodities is decided by the *Periadanakaran* of the particular trade, who meets with three or four *Panchayatdars*; such *Periadanakarans* are elected by the particular group of traders, Brahmans or Vaishyas, irrespective of their castes. It is also a guild rule that all beggars of the city who come to the *Periadanakaran* or accountant in a particular trade shall receive from them chits, which, when produced, will entitle them to alms from the shops comprised under the particular guild. Among the *Nadars*, there is a written agreement that onion, coriander, cardamom, clove, dried ginger, and mustard should be first cleaned and then sold, and that there should be no false measurement. In the present day, the guilds confine themselves to effecting an amicable arrangement, and though they never attempt to enforce their decision about prices, the parties interested generally acquiesce.

The *Periadanakaran* or *Natamais* is held in high regard in the industrial communities. His presence is necessary for all social and domestic ceremonies, on which occasions he receives presents of clothing and perquisites. Except occasional fines the lesser guilds have few sources of income. The wealthier guilds, composed of the artisans and traders in the larger towns, draw considerable incomes, (1) from fines and entrance fees, (2) from fees on quantity of merchandise purchased or sold and this is called *Mahimai* and it is a *Nattamai* who directs such collections, (3) from fees and contributions on auspicious or inauspicious occasions, (4) from land, (5) from the auction sale of the right to open a shop or from fees

levied on those who wish to do business on holidays, (6) from fees levied on the settlement of disputes regarding monetary claims and (7) from a percentage on the profits of exchange bills, hundis, and on gambling bargains. Such communal funds are usually spent to support orphans, helpless widows, on *choultrys* and *chhatrams* or on food kitchens, *sadarvatas* and water pandals or on other works of charity, as well as for the maintenance of the communal temple and on temple processions and festivals.

The same sort of organisation prevails among the shepherds (Jadavas) and butchers (Kasapukars) as well as amongst milkmen (Konars): Among the milkmen there is a hereditary division of streets of the city of Madura for milking and grazing cows. There are two streets for each *Konar*, who employs his own servants. All other milkmen are strictly forbidden from poaching upon his quarters. If on account of a servant's negligence a cow or a calf is lost, the milkman of the ward must compensate. The *Mirasi* right of streets can be sold or mortgaged at Rs. 200 or Rs. 300 by the milkmen. The guild has the following officials:—

- (1) The Natamai or headman.
- (2) The Kanaka or accountant, who receives a salary of Rs. 10.
- (3) The Thandal or bill collector.

There are 7 or 9 Thalaivars or members of the Panchayet. There is the communal Ramayan Chawadi with associated Krishna Temple. This guild has accumulated a sum of Rs. 50,000 out of fines for social misbehaviour as well as fees on marriages, etc. This sum has been invested in trade. The community is a close corporation and is quite prosperous; some of them have become agriculturists, traders and money-lenders. As custom is strictly limited by hereditary division, the field for work in the milkmen's own calling is very much circumscribed.

The guild organisation is not limited only to Hindu artisans. Mahomedan blacksmiths, for instance, in Madura, have their own guild with the Peria Natamadar, Chhuniah Natamadar, senior and junior headmen, Peria Kudithanekarar, crier, and Modian of the mosque, who exercises the function of the *Jadipillai* in other craftsmen's guild. The Panchayet settles all kinds of disputes and maintains a mosque and an Arabic school as well as gives alms to travellers and strangers. On the 27th day of Ramjan collections are made for the festival and any surplus is given to the teacher. There are also fees on occasion of marriage, circumcision, etc.

We conclude with a description of the Sourashtra Sabha of Madura, which is an expansion and development of the old guild of this compact body of artisans and traders in adaptation to the larger economic and cultural needs of to-day. Its objects as they appear in the memorandum of the association are :—

(a) To manage a School to enable members of the Sourashtra community to receive on moderate terms a sound, liberal, general and technical education.

(b) To manage the temple known as the "Madura Sri-Prasanna Venkateswara Swami's Temple," and contribute towards its maintenance by constructing, repairing and preserving buildings in connection therewith, making jewels, vehicles and other things necessary therefor and conducting the festivals thereof.

(c) To found charitable institutions such as orphanages, hospitals, poor-houses, choultries, water-sheds and other things of a like nature for the good of the Sourashtra Community.

(d) To give succour to the suffering poor and the "maimed, the lame and the blind" in the Sourashtra Community.

(e) To give pecuniary grants in aid of Upanayanams (thread-marriages) to the helpless in the Sourashtra Community,

(f) To erect such works of utility as bathing ghauts, wells, water-fountains and other works of utility for the benefit of the Sourashtra Community.

(g) To promote the social, moral and intellectual advancement of the Sourashtra Community.

(h) To fix and raise subscriptions known as "Mahamais" in such manner as the Association may from time to time think fit.

(i) To sell, improve, manage, develop, lease, mortgage, dispose of, turn to account or otherwise deal with all or any part of the property of the Association.

The paying Members shall on the sale proceeds contribute to the funds of the Association as stated below :—

(a) Local manufacturers of cloths and dyers of foreign piece goods through Brokers—one pie per rupee (Brokers shall contribute at the above rate on the total invoice amount).

(b) Dealers in cloths of Benares, Cashmere, Calcutta, Kumbakonam, Kornad, Conjeevaram, Salem, Tanjore, Swamimalai, Pilliarpoliem and other Mofussil stations—half a pie per rupee.

(c) Dealers in gold thread—four pies per high standard marc.

(d) Dealers in gold thread—one pie per low high standard marc.

(e) Wholesale dealers in cotton yarn and in foreign piece goods—half an anna per 100 Rs.

(f) Retail dealers in white cotton yarn—half a pie per bundle.

(g) Retail dealers in colored cotton yarn—one pie per bundle.

(h) Dealers in locally dyed cotton yarn—half a pie per rupee.

(i) Dealers in Alizarine dye stuffs—one anna per barrel.

(j) Dealers in Aniline colours—one anna per lb.

(k) Dealers in dyed silk—four pies per seer.

(l) Dealers in different oils—one anna per 100 Rs.

(m) Dealers in different grains and other sundry articles of consumption—one anna per 100 Rs.

(n) Dealers in iron—one anna per 100 Rs.

(Stake-holders in chits shall contribute a quarter of an anna per rupee on the amount of stake.)

In Khandesh cloth and turban weavers, oil-extractors, husbandmen, bangle-makers, potters, carpenters, goldsmiths, barbers, washermen, tailors, dyers and oilsellers have caste-organisations which, to some extent take the place of craft-guilds ; each caste has a number of leading men, mahajans, subordinate to a head leader, chaudhuri mahajan. In Baroda every town and, in some sub-divisions, every large village has its guild for each trade, but this guild or association of traders is not termed Mahajan but *nyat* or caste. The Vantias and Brahmans form the Mahajan to which all trade guilds are subordinate. Still, though all Brahmans and Vantias are considered members of the Mahajan, when meetings of such associations are convened to settle some disputed question of trade or practice, only those who are termed the *sheths* or heads of each caste are invited or entitled to vote. In every town where there is a Mahajan, there are also one or more *Nagarsheths*, or city-chiefs. These are generally Vantias. There are also *chakla-sheths*, that is, heads of the Vantias or Brahmans who sell cloth, grocery, grain, etc.

Every Mahajan has a *kotval*, whose duty it is to collect the members of the Mahajan when they are wanted. He receives no regular pay, but is entitled to certain

privileges or gifts. On imports he receives for every cart of grain, salt or molasses a quarter of a *ser* of the article imported; for every packload of molasses and salt a quarter of a *ser*. On occasions of caste feasts, he is entitled to a *ser* and a half of *ghi* or *shidha* consisting of flour, rice, pulse, salt, clarified butter, sugar, and the other condiments that go to make up a single meal. On the occasion of a marriage he is paid seven pice by the bride and bridegroom. His office of *Kotwal* does not debar him from trading on his own account.

There is a material difference between the authority of a Mahajan and that of a trade guild. The former is general and paramount, and the latter only special, that is, the authority of a trade guild extends over those who belong to that particular guild, while the authority of a Mahajan extends over all trade guilds. It is the highest authority in matters of trade, and, as far as Hindu traders are concerned, in matters of caste. A disaffected trader may appeal against his guild to the Mahajan, and the decision of the Mahajan becomes law both to him and to his guild. The highest penalty that a Mahajan can inflict is to outcaste a trader, *i.e.*, 'to put an end to all intercourse between him and the caste to which he may belong,' and he will then be left to starve, if need be. In the case of a trader who is not a Hindu, though the Mahajan cannot touch his caste, he is virtually outcasted, as the grocer will not sell him salt, nor the grain-dealer grain, nor the cloth-dealer cloth, etc. He must, in fact, leave the place and seek refuge somewhere else, or abide by the decision of the Mahajan whatever it may be.

The following fifty-four public holidays are considered in the Kadi division as days of obligation, when traders are forbidden by the Mahajan to carry on business: the twenty-four elevenths or *Ekadashis* of the year; the

twelve dark fifteenths or *Amarasyas* of the year ; two *Divali* holidays (October-November) ; one *Dev Divali* (November) ; one *Shivratri* (February-March) ; two *Holi* (March) ; one *Ramnarami* (March-April) ; one *Akshaya Tritiya* or *Akhatrij* (April-May) one *Balev* (July-August) ; one *Gokal Ashtami* (July-August) ; eight *Pachusan* of *Shrayak* (August-September).

The *Mahajan* has the authority to inflict fines, and the fines thus collected go to the keeping up of the *Panjarapol*, or asylum for animals. Every town has such an asylum, and some of these establishments keep a room for insects called *Jivalkhana*.

In every town, where there is a *Mahajan*, there is a place appointed for the *Mahajan* to meet. It is generally the place where the customs duties are collected. If any one has a complaint to prefer to the *Mahajan*, he resorts to the usual place of meeting and sits there fasting. The complainant will neither eat nor drink nor move from the place until his complaint is heard (*Satyagraha*). Notice of this is conveyed to the heads or *sheths* of the *Mahajan* by the *kotwal*, on which they all assemble and proceed with the case. Trade guilds have also certain appointed places at which to meet.

The associations of *sahukars*, known as *Mahajan*, alone have funds. The trade guilds have no sources of revenue, except some occasional fines, which are devoted to the service of the particular god worshipped by the fining guild. The two chief sources of revenue of the *Mahajan* are fees : on the mortgage of a house 8 *annas* per cent. of its value, and on the sale of a house Re. 1 per cent. of its value. The amounts thus collected, as well as the fines, go to the keeping up of the local *Panjarapol*.

Nagarsheths have various privileges granted them by the State. Thus, the *Nagarsheth* of the city of *Pattan* has a village given him in *inam*. The *Nagarsheth* of

Vadnagar is entitled to a certain percentage on exports and imports. The Nagarsheth of Sidhpur is entitled to import articles free of customs duty. Similar privileges have been extended to other *Nagarsheths*.

There have also been developed a good deal of division of labour, specialisation of occupations and localisation in the Indian communal organisation of industry. In the organisation of craftsmanship different grades of work are allotted to different classes of labour, and sometimes industrial villages composed of settlements of artisans and labourers specialise themselves in particular industries and manufactures. The prevailing ideas about the isolation and stagnation of the Indian village system are due to the application of the logic of the Western economist to Indian economic conditions. In Western Europe till the Industrial Revolution villages were more or less isolated and had to supply their own wants because communications were not sufficiently developed. In India though the village has been self-sufficient so far as foodstuffs and the necessities of life are concerned it has imported all the luxuries it wanted from outside as it is doing even now. The products of the cottages and workshops of some industrial villages have been well-known throughout India and before the days of steam power were exported to China and the Far East as well the ports of Red Sea and the Mediterranean. Thus the Indian village system is essentially different to that which the economist talks glibly about. In India the village has existed and thrived independently by the side of the city, mutually supporting each other. The settled habits of the population, the instincts of attachment to the soil, and to the family altar, the love for a life in nature in a scheme of humanised and socialised industry have determined the specific type of Indian agrarian economy, and the prosperity and political power

of towns and cities have never been able to eclipse the self-government of the village, the foundation of Indian polity, and the self-direction of industry and agriculture within the village, the foundation of Indian Economics.

Beginning with the employment of a little staff of village artisans and menials by the village community, the organisation of guilds of artisans, characteristically developing into the federation of groups of industrial and mercantile guilds, the Indian industrial system has still preserved its main features which have developed in an age-long process of socio-economic evolution, and now awaits reconstruction in adaptation to the needs of modern scientific industry and commerce. References to communal organisation of agricultural and industrial economy are frequently met with in the records of the past. The simple village corporation, which is called *Barabuluti* or *Ayagar* and which has been described above is met with in old South Indian inscriptions. Thus in inscription No. 112, Sira Taluq (dated 1720) the Mogul Padshah's Subadar gives to the headman (Ganda) of Hosur Sthala the *mirasi* of his place after consulting the 12 Ayagars of the village. In a still older inscription, Sira 41, dated 1544 we find that the maha-mandalesvara gives the *sasana* to the barbers:—"Whereas formerly we remitted to you tax, tribute, alms and the five dues, we now grant to you, along with the 12 Ayagara in the country a *svamya* under the tank of Imprecation, saying that those who take away this grant will at last be born as children of barbers. Thus the ruling authority recognised the importance of the functions exercised in the social economy by the 12 Ayagars as well as by the Ganda and the village assembly. In an inscription of about the middle of the 10th century we find the record of gift of land by the village assembly to a private person on account of a boat employed for clearing the

tank of silt. The operation is fully described. One hundred and forty baskets of earth each with a capacity to hold 6 *marakkal* (i.e., about 200 cubic feet) of earth were to be taken out of the tank and deposited on the bund daily. The establishment comprised a supervision who received the wages of $1\frac{1}{2}$ *kuruni* of paddy per diem and under him 6 labourers who were full-time workmen and therefore paid higher wages, viz., 1 *paddakku* of paddy per head per diem for both food and clothing; a carpenter and blacksmith for repairing the boat each of whom got annually $2\frac{1}{2}$ *kalam* of paddy; and the fishermen who supplied wood for repairs to the boat and got 2 *kalam* of paddy annually. The village assembly had to get the land cultivated and to pay for the whole process out of the income. If they failed to do it the then reigning king could fine them and get it done.¹ In India it is characteristic that the public works, the religious endowments and the imperative civic and social obligations are mostly assigned or entrusted to village assemblies, or artisan and trade guilds and corporations whose function extend to every sphere of communal life.

Another South Indian inscription (S. I., Inscriptions Vol. III, Part I) records that the villager's assembly of Ukkal sold 300 *kuli* of land and 5 water levers (*jala-jantra*) to a servant of the king who assigned this land for the maintenance of two boats plying in the village tank. Similarly No. 15 of the Nasik inscriptions records how in order to provide medicines for the sick of the *Samga* of merchants of whatever sect and origin dwelling in this monastery on mount *Trirasmī* a perpetual endowment has been invested for all time to come with the guilds dwelling (at Govardhana), viz., in the hands of the guild of Kularikas (? Kulala-potter), 1,000 Karsapanas

¹ Dr. Radhakumud Mukerjee's, "Local Government in Ancient India."

of the guild of *Odayantrikas* (? from Udayantara, i.e., workers fabricating hydraulic engines), two thousand of the guild of 500 of the guild of oil-millers (*tilapisaka*).¹

3. CONCLUSION.

The characteristics of the Indian communal organisation of industry thus described may be enumerated as follows :—

(1) Industrial or other kind of work and labour which are of fundamental social importance, and which lie or may lie at the basis of general industry and social well-being are controlled by the community. The social interests receive the greatest attention and there is the utmost simplicity of management.

(2) The needs of the community are calculated, and the labourers and workers are engaged and entrusted with the duty of satisfying the specific needs. They are permitted to charge a standard rate of wages, but required to keep up the services to a certain standard demanded by the community.

The labourers are paid not by the job but by customary fees for the service generally. It is not piece work or competitive wages, but fair wages determined according to an ethical standard. Five seers of grain at each harvest will roughly represent the customary, normal or ethical wages corresponding to the plane of living of the labourers' family. This is for normal or customary unit of economic services. Extra work or work which requires special skill or dexterity is always remunerated separately.

The great objection to co-operative societies is that they are anxious only to increase the common profit and do not adequately remunerate the labourers.

¹ Vide Dr. Radhakumud Mukerjee's "Local Government in Ancient India."

The village community in India not only controls industry in the interests of consumers but is also a natural guardian of the rights of producers. Thus it combines the functions of a Co-operative Society and a Trade-Union.

(3) The labourers have not to seek employment and they do not compete with one another for securing jobs which are already fixed for them. The elimination of competition and conflict carries with it the cost of all the useless activities prompted by that conflict.

(4) There is a large saving in raw materials and capital when labour and special skill are fully utilised.

(5) Work which requires special skill, such as iron-work, wood-work, leather-work, dyeing, and weaving secures important economies when custom is sure and production not small. Isolated artisans competing for jobs and finding work now and then would mean waste in everything.

(6) The community which employs and regulates labour gains through the higher efficiency of better treated and more contented labour, still further energised by the noble motives and sentiments that go with service for the community.

(7) It is impossible for a single household to engage the services of a Brahman, a watchman, a carpenter, and irrigation man, or a supervisor of field labourers. The whole village combines its wants and can thus arrange for their satisfaction which will be impossible in the case of individual bargaining. The sweeper who does all the dirty work of the village, the *shikari* who protects the crops and in fact the majority of labourers are village menials whose services could not have been employed without the villagers' co-operation.

The organisation of industry by a community of consumers in the interest of all as consumers.

A system of industry which contains all the elements that are vital in schemes of communal ownership of the means of production and co-operative production as well as distribution.

There is the control of the conditions of labour, the organisation of industry which avoids the evils of industrial depression, the common enjoyment of the profit, and from the point of view of the consumer the communal guarantee of the soundness and regular supply of the article.

(8) There is communal regulation of labour and property, and at the same time there is private ownership of land, and of tools, production as well as private enjoyment of the fruits of labour. But private property and private enjoyment are never aggressive in their character. A refined system of property which avoids the evils of socialism, *viz.*, the check to private initiative and enterprise.

(9) Profits and service for the people, no overgrown fortunes for the few, wealth diffusion and removal of the greatest danger of industrial conditions in the West.

(10) No need of old age pensions ; provision for the worker in the case of sickness and old age, and for his family in the case of his death. The recognition that men are worth more than money, that 400 happy homes in moderate circumstances are better than 2 luxurious palaces and 398 tenements pinched by poverty.

(11) The democratic organisation of industry in a scheme of artisans' and traders' guilds and brotherhoods : instead of state-socialism the decentralisation of industry ; instead of concentration of capital and business, the federation of guilds or groups of self-governing producers and traders.

(12) Industrialism does not comprehend the whole of life. Religion, art, music, poetry, and social service

are important factors in the life of the community—in-dissolubly mixed up with the production and distribution of wealth.

The present type of organisation of industry does not, of course, represent a finished stage. There are many drawbacks so far as the supply of capital to industry and the organisation of industry for the purposes of trade are concerned. Thus at present it is the individual villager who supplies the wood, iron or yarn to the carpenter, the blacksmith and the weaver, and the latter find the tools and implements for themselves. This is suited to the present undeveloped conditions of rural economy. These simple forms of organisation represent the vital seeds and cells, the *rudiments* which await a more complex growth for the building up of a complex structure, which will satisfy the varied communal needs of self-governing adult organisms.

The growth of communal institutions on such natural lines, unhampered by alien forces, may ultimately lead to larger federal unions of various types, economic, social and administrative, which will arise in obedience to the new and imperative demands of a larger national life.

The lines of development may be thus indicated :

(1) The communal supply of capital and the raw materials on a co-operative basis, which will intercept the profits of the middleman, and regulate unproductive consumption.

(2) The organisation of groups of guilds corresponding to co-operative artisans' societies, which will, on the one hand, protect the interests as well as maintain the standard of production and consumption and co-ordinate the economic activities of union or federation of villages for the purposes of external trade and expansion.

(3) The development of communal workshops on a co-operative basis on the lines of existing institutions

such as the *dharmasala*, the school and the temple. By the side of the *tol* and the *mukhtab*, the *dharmasala* and the shrine, there should grow communal power-houses owned and operated like the former on a communal basis which will distribute the electric current for the looms and the lathes of the village. In the case of the electric installation the relative costs per unit do not increase as in the steam-plant. Thus the electric installation has no tendency to grow into large dimensions as the steam-installation has. In fact the greater use of electricity as a motive force in industry will ultimately end in the decentralisation of industry and the multiplication of small workshops which will now have no special disadvantages in comparison with large-scale production. The use of such petty and cheap motors like the oil-engine, the gas-engine and the water-pressure engine which have been so successfully used for aeroplanes, submarines, lawnmowers, etc., carries with it the germs of the complete transformation of industry due to the special facilities it gives to small industries and petty workshops.

Developments on these lines will follow the socio-economic traditions of the past. Some of the vital ideals of modern co-operation are already held in solution in the Indian economic organisation. References to co-operation in a very advanced form are frequently met with in Kautilya's *Arthasastra*, which belongs to the 4th century B. C.

Apart from scattered references to various forms of co-operation in different parts of this treatise, there is in it a sub-section entirely devoted to the rules and methods of co-operative undertakings. "Thus ends, Chapter XIV," runs the colophon of this portion. "containing rules regarding labourers and co-operative undertakings.....in Book III, concerning law, of the *Arthasastra* of Kautilya." In this section rules are laid down for the guidance of

guilds of workmen as well as of those who carry on any co-operative work. Co-operative cultivation, manufacture and trading, all seem to be contemplated. It is laid down that co-operators shall divide their earnings either equally or as agreed upon among themselves. The essential principle of co-operation, *viz.*, that it is an association of the weak to become strong, and not an association of the strong to get stronger and to exploit, has been enunciated. For example it is stated :—

“A healthy person who deserts his company after work has been begun shall be fined 12 panas, for none shall, of his own accord leave his company. Any person who is found to have neglected his share of work by stealth shall be shown mercy (*abhayam*) for the first time and given a proportional quantity of work anew with promise of proportional share of earning as well. In case of negligence for a second time or of going elsewhere he shall be thrown out of the company (*pravasanam*). If he is guilty of a glaring offence (*mahaparadha*), he shall be treated as the condemned.”

The motive which underlies this rule, *viz.*, an earnest attempt to raise the less efficient, less regular and less honest workers in a group to the level of the best among its members by joint persuasion and moral force commands our admiration. The system of co-operative labour in respect of which the rule of Kautilya was laid down was almost identical in all respects with a system recently developed in Italy and known as “*Co-operative di lavoro e pubblici servizi*,” which is said to be “Italy’s peculiar contribution to co-operation.”

Reference to co-operative methods and institutions is found in yet another class of ancient Sanskrit works—the law codes or the Samhitas. In the institutes of Yajñavalkya there is a chapter called *Sambhūya Samutthana prakaranam*, *i.e.*, on joint or co-operative undertakings.

The rules of trade in combination are given in detail. These rules refer to business in partnership or by companies, though even in these cases every member or shareholder of the concern was required either himself or by agent to take part in the conduct of business. At the end of the chapter, however, there is a significant addition.

This means, "By this are indicated also the laws that govern undertakings of *ritwiks*, agriculturists and artisans who work in co-operation." Co-ordinating this with the rules regarding co-operation of labourers which I just quoted from Kautilya, it must be clear that the system of joint work by cultivators and artisans referred to by Yajnavalkya must have been an institution embodying many of the essential features of agricultural and industrial co-operation.

In this connection mention may be made of the indigenous institutions called *Nidhis*, which existed in several parts of India and served some of the purposes which co-operative institutions are intended to serve, such as providing cheap capital to agriculturists and artisans. In the Madras Presidency and the surrounding tracts, the *Nidhis* were known from at least the early part of the nineteenth century. Sir Frederick Nicholson, in his valuable report, gives an interesting history of the working of *Nidhis* in Madras City from the year 1850 onwards. He, however, distinctly says that such institutions existed at a much earlier period. Davangere 24 and Holalkere 123 in the "Epigraphica Carnatica" were believed by Mr. Rice to be instances of inscriptions in which such *Nidhis* were referred to. In these interesting documents the merits of an institution called the *Ananda Nidhi*, started by King Achyuta Raya of Vijayanagar, are described in the following terms :—

"In Saka 1461 in the year named Vikari in the bright fortnight of the month of Bhadrupada on the twelfth day

of the moon, on Tuesday in nakshatra dominated by Vishnu, did the King Achyuta grant the Ananda-Nidhi making the *Dwijas* to be like Dhanada (Kubera) and giving pleasure to Madhava (Vishnu). Protected by all manner of merit as that (Kubera's treasure) is surrounded by hosts of *Yakshas*; in the possession of the assembly of the good, as that is ever in the keeping of the serpents. Having gained great celebrity as a very new (*atinava*) thing, the courageous King Achyuta's *Ananda Nidhi*, can the nine (*nava*) treasures (of Kubera) equal it ?"¹

The establishment of communal workshops and power-houses also will not be altogether new. In the inscription of Vira-Chola (10th century A.D.) there is mention of a tax on unauthorised looms. In the Kuram plates of Paramesvara Varman I the looms (*tari*) are included among the property owned by the village in common. It would thus appear that a fixed number of looms were worked for the common benefit of the whole village by the weavers who were probably maintained out of the village funds. Any other looms than the communal ones would be unlicensed or unauthorised. These may have been required to pay a tax which in the present case was made over to the Jama Shrine.² Besides the looms, the oil-mills, the bazar, the brokerage, the *Kattikanam* are also mentioned in the Kuram plate, as common property. The inscription runs thus:—“(The donees) shall enjoy the houses and house-gardens of this village, the village property, the oil-mills, the looms, the bazar, the brokerage, the *Kattikanam*, deposit paid by the watchman or the charge of land, and all other common (property) after (the proceeds) have been divided. It seems that some of the looms and oil-mills are common

¹ This account is derived from Mr. J. S. Chakravarti's Presidential address to the Co-operative Conference, Mysore, 1916.

² *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IV, p. 138.

property while the fees levied on goods purchased and sold in the market were remitted to common village funds : it is these which were set apart for the Brahmins to whom this gift was made."

The federation of merchant and craft guilds also is not a step in an entirely new direction. From the numerous references to these federations in Dr. Radhakumud Mukerjee's "Local Government in Ancient India" we find how "these Hansa Leagues of Merchants and other assemblies of certain special corporations from their numerical strength attend to a great measure of political importance." The inscriptions Nos. 256 and 342 of 1912 relate that the guild of *Nanad'si* (merchants, i.e., those who come from or have dealings with various countries) comprised various sub-divisions coming from the 1,000 districts of the four quarters, the 18 towns, the 32 *velur-puram* and 64 *ghaliker-sphana*. These *Nana-desis* met together at Mayilapur (i.e., Mylapore) and decided to convert Kattur which was originally Ayyapulal into Virapattina, and thus exempted its inhabitants of all communal contributions entitling them to receive twice what they used to get till then (in the matter of honorary privileges perhaps). No. 342 relates that the community consisting of *nadu*, *nagara* and *nana-desi* met on a special congregation at *Seravalli* comprising 1,500 representatives of all *samayas* (religious denominations) coming from the four quarters and also of their followers of various sects and tenets.

Dr. Mookerjee also gives some remarkable examples of seamen's guilds. One of these he mentions is referred to in the Motupalli record of the Kakatiya emperor Gunapalideva (No. 600 of 1909) granted a charter (*abhaya-sasana*) to merchants trading in their vessels from the sea-port of Motupalli with islands and coast towns in distant countries. The federation of craft

guilds is no less characteristic. No. 261 of 1909 refers to the guild of oil-mongers of Kanchi and its suburbs and also those of 24 *nagaras* who met in a temple of *Kanchima-nagar* and decided that the usual tax on oil-mills in the temple premises at Tirukkachchar should be paid to the temple together with specified quantity of oil and a voluntary fee of 1 *kasu* per oil-mill.

The development of co-operative credit, co-operative methods of purchase and sale and the federation of workshops and industrial or commercial guilds, now arrested on account of the forces of outside competition and exploitation is the only method to rescue the communal organisation of industry in the economic struggle of the present day.

Industrial organisations were growing larger and larger on account of technical causes, but the tendency will, it is expected, sooner or later, be arrested by improvements in the use of electricity and the introduction of cheap motors, as well as developments in the directions of co-operative organisation, union and federations.

The evils of the present industrial organisation which Western Scientific Industry represents need not be recounted. The poverty and the chronic unemployment in the midst of unsatisfied desires of the rich and the poor alike, the exploitation and the social injustice which the present industrial organisation establishes and perpetuates have caused universal unrest and dissatisfaction, and it would be absurd to associate India's industrial future with the introduction of dehumanised economic organisation of the West, for which so many sweeping systems of reform have been and are being advocated by Western economists. State socialism does not satisfy the ideal. For the bureaucratic machinery will bring about wooden routine and dull monotony. In spite of the

social advantages of the state organisation and control of labour and of the conditions of work state-socialism cannot but be harmful to the development of originality and initiative and will ultimately end in technical conservatism, and an uniform but low average of industrial and intellectual efficiency. In India again, the state has never touched more than the fringe of social life. This is at once the cause and the effect of the vitality of her self-governing and independent village communities and local bodies. The nationalisation of industries, the bureaucratic organisation and the regulation of labour, the conditions of production, distribution and trade by externally imposed laws will run counter to the lines of Indian social evolution in the past. Co-operation and syndicalism also have their merits as well as their deficiencies. Co-operation tends to establish a solidarity of the interests of the capitalist and of the consumer. But the great deficiency of co-operative economy is that in its zeal for the increase of the dividend for redistribution as bonus and profits among the consumers, it is often ready to exploit the labourers. In some of the co-operative industrial establishments of the West, the labourers are chronically under-paid. Syndicalism similarly effects a solidarity of the interests of the producer and of the capitalist but forgets the consumer. Neither co-operation nor syndicalism is a comprehensive ideal which can effect a union of the interests of the producer, the capitalist, and the consumer, interests which have been separated by the present industrial order or rather anarchy in the West. Communalism aims at amalgamating all the three interests. The community which will direct labour and employ capital in this economic scheme will also be the natural guardians of the rights of producers and of consumers. Thus while both co-operation and syndicalism will not be able to wholly prevent

industrial strife and class conflict, and have to depend on the state as the arbitrator and guardian, communalism which establishes and perpetuates the integration of all the different industrial interests prevents industrial disputes and achieves social progress without the mediation of state laws and regulations concerning industrial life. Communalism secures the advantages of syndicalism by recognising an industrial or agricultural unit for purposes of government. State socialism or a bureaucratic organisation of industry can secure an average mechanical efficiency, but it saps at the roots of individual initiative and enterprise and separating the labourer from an interest and enthusiasm in the work and its management and the imperative necessity of self-direction, it violates the justice of private property. Communalism allows individual rights in property but emphasises social interest. The unit of communal activity is a functional unit, an agrarian or industrial group in the zones of agrarian and industrial distribution. Communalism stands for the direct control of the labourer over his work, and its management and for an equitable demarcation of individual and social rights in property. It stands, therefore, for self-direction, for the unarrested development of the creative impulses, for art and craftsmanship, for the expression of ideals, the joy of a new creation and the happiness and dignity of labour. Communalism ensures the advantages of co-operation by regulating industry in the interests of consumers. But unlike co-operation and trades-unionism it does not make the membership of the economic organisation compulsory for the participation of its special benefits which do not correspond with the benefits for the entire community. In communalism the economic organisation is meant for all. It is the regulation of industry by the community in the interest of all as consumers, and not as

representing special or exclusive class interests. An individual works, not as representing the interests of his class as the labourer, the consumer or capitalist, or as representing the unified interests of two of the above classes. He is there as a member of the community as a whole and his individual industry is a direct means of communal service. That is wanting in syndicalism, which is in consequence coming to be associated in the West with the red-flag and revolutionary outbursts. But syndicalism also stands for a movement which aims at bringing more self-government into methods of production and has been embodied in such catchwords as "the mines for the miners." Guild-Socialism which represents a typical English development combines state socialism with a more democratic method of organising state industries. The state is to be the ultimate owner of all the means and instruments of production, but within this limit each group of producers is to form a co-operative society managing its own business on a thoroughly democratic basis. The principles of Syndicalism and Guild Socialism so far as they concur with those of communalism as regards the recognition of a trade or industry as the unit of government, with some kind of home-rule are not easily applicable to such industries where large masses of metals, and huge specialised machinery have to be used, *e.g.*, railway, ship-building, iron and steel industries. In these the advantages of large-scale production, and organisation, and of centralised management are so obvious that the communal system will have to be modified in its application, and be found only in the direction of the democratic government of industry, as syndicalism exhibits, and will stop short of the ideal, the regulation of industry by the consumers in the interests of the consumers themselves, which communalism always stands for, in the above-mentioned industries on a syndicalist

basis there should be some safeguards against an exploitation of the community by the specialised producers engaged in these industries. While, on the one hand, French Syndicalism usually exhibits a deep under-current of hostility both to the state and state socialism. Guild socialism depends upon state-action to prevent one powerful group to exploit its monopoly position. Communalism will exhibit the democratic methods of the organisation of industries on a federal basis, but each group of producers will be responsible for the actual working of its own industry to the community of consumers. Communalism will thus represent a greater co-ordination of social and industrial interests, and will depend not upon the state but upon the voluntary co-operation of groups as the lever of industrial reconstruction. A regional or functional unit, an industrial or an agrarian group, democratically organised in industry, will carry on industrial activities, and there will be developed out of these larger federal industrial or agricultural unions and federations which will meet the growing demands of expanding trade and business, with the government not absolutist and exploitative under dominating central organs, but democratic and federal rising layer upon layer from the lower communal stratifications on the broad and stable basis of industrial democracy. The communal structure of Indian industry is like a *muth* or temple, hoary in age, with some woods here and there and some stones loose and others which have come out. The vast mass of agricultural and industrial population democratically organised in industry and social life represents the solid bed-rock on which a beautiful superstructure was built, a monument of mechanical skill, efficiency and enterprise, which in the days of yore was well-known to the Babylonian caravaneers and the Chinese merchants, the Phœnician sailors and the Roman grandees. That

magnificent fabric which was built by Indian labour that exchanged itself for Chinese silks, Roman coins and Persian gems and eastern spices has fallen into decay.

The capitalistic system of Western industry is on the contrary more like a pyramid built on an apex. Men who work and toil, and create the wealth are at the bidding of the employer who orders the work to be done and enjoys the largest measure of the wealth they make. And yet the men who work and toil and are penniless have achieved political democracy. A penniless omnipotence is an unsupportable presence. A free and compulsory education makes the injustice intolerable. Thus the whole structure is now threatening to topple down, a political democracy cannot tolerate an industrial oligarchy.

India will not rear a western pyramid on an apex in her own soil. She will mend her own temple, build it anew by communal labour and enterprise but this time the structure will be more magnificent than it was in the past—the foundations of industrial democracy wider and deeper. Each class of labour will contribute its quota of service in the rearing of the fine fabric, and the communal temple that will evoke the interest and enthusiasm of every functional group in its work and management will be the sanctuary of justice and peace in group-life and freedom and creativeness in individual life.

Platonism in Spenser

BY

MOHINIMOHAN BHATTACHARYYA, M.A., B.L.,

Premchand Roychand Student

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Spenser has been called the child of the Renaissance. But in form his greatest work is distinctly mediæval. Chivalry furnishes its framework, and knights, dwarfs, and distressed damsels march before the reader's eye in a curious procession. Jousts and tournaments, bloody contests with Saracens and infidels bring back to remembrance the echo of the magic blast of Roncesvalles. All the creations of the imagination in which the mediæval mind delighted so much—witches, hags, giants and demons—lend a strange glamour to the picture. It is natural that in this wonderful work Spenser should have desired¹ to rival his master Ariosto, the great poet of chivalry.²

Trace of the Renaissance in Spenser—not so much to be found in the form or mechanical details of his poems,

¹ Desire expressed in a letter to Harvey.

² For the striking points of resemblance between the Orlando Furioso and the Faerie Queene, see Einstein's Italian Renaissance in England, p. 341 and p. 343; also the Proceedings, Modern Language Association, 1897, p. 70 *et seq.*

Where, then, is the trace of the Renaissance? It is rather to be sought in the general tone and spirit of the poet. The Renaissance had first affected England as a religious movement which had raised its head as a protest against the corruption and the rigours of the Church. A quickening of sympathy, an interest in the well-being of mankind, a keen sense of Beauty—these were the effects which followed later and which manifested themselves in a different class of people. In Spenser, however, both these aspects of the movement are found in a healthy combination.¹ The Revival of classical learning was mainly responsible for the aesthetic and humanistic tendencies of his age. But the influence of Plato which Spenser imbibed as the result of his classical scholarship not only dignified his conception of Beauty and broadened his sympathy, but also added to his moral enthusiasm. Thus the Renaissance may be said to have affected Spenser mainly through his Platonic studies and his Platonism may be described as summing up the main influence of the Renaissance on him.

Platonism in Spenser is “distinct from the Christianised Neo-Platonism which culminated in the ninth century when Joannes Scotus (Erigena) popularised the doctrines of the so-called Dionysius the Areopagite, embodied in his book the ‘Celestial Hierarchy.’”² It means Plato’s Philosophy studied in his original dialogues, with the addition of the Neo-Platonism of Plotinus. There is abundant evidence to show that though Spenser studied Plato in the original, he also laid under contribution the commentary on the Symposium by Ficinus the renowned translator of Plato under the Medicis and Pico della

as in the deeper conceptions embedded in them—in their spirit and outlook.

Platonism, the mark of the Renaissance in Spenser—its nature and sources—

¹ Dowden—Spenser as poet and teacher.

² Cambridge History of English Literature, Vol. III.

Mirandola's treatise on Neo-Platonism entitled "A Platonic Discourse on Love." Ficinus also translated into Latin the Enneads of Plotinus and wrote commentaries on them. Spenser is indebted to these also. In the 15th and 16th centuries Ficinus and Pico della

Mirandola were the recognised interpreters of Plato in Europe. "Originated in the Platonic Academy at Florence,"

their Platonism "was taken up by the reforming party throughout Europe, and was specially favoured in the Universities of Paris and Cambridge."¹ And it must be remembered that Cambridge was Spenser's Alma Mater. Besides the commentaries of Ficinus and Pico, there were the discourses on Platonic Love in the Italian courtesy-books of the 15th century, the most important

Castiglione, Guazzo,
Romei and Bembo.

of which is the Cortegiano. Guazzo's Civil Conversation and Annibale Romei's Discorsi followed Bembo's oration on love in the Cortegiano. Spenser was more or less indebted to all these works.

It seems to many that Spenser was influenced only by Plato's theories of Love and Beauty, and consequently only

Influence of Plato's
philosophy noticeable
not only in the Hymns,
but also in the Faerie
Queene.

the Hymns of Spenser are mentioned as illustrating his Platonism. But the "Faerie Queen," too, when closely studied, shews the clear impress of Platonic ideas on Spenser's thought and outlook. Too much has been made of Spenser's letter to Raleigh and critics have taken their stand on these few lines to argue that the Faerie Queene is nothing but an exposition of the Nicomachean Ethics, and that the virtues typified in the knights must have an Aristotelian origin. Considerable support seems to be given to this theory by the conversation which Spenser

¹ Cambridge History of English Literature, Vol. III.

had in Ireland with Lodovick Bryskett. Finding it difficult to understand philosophical works in the original Greek, Bryskett in an assembly which gathered at a cottage near Dublin, requested Spenser to discourse on "*the Ethicke part of Morall Philosophie.*" Spenser begged

Why critics admitted the influence of Aristotle only on the Faerie Queene—Spenser's Letter to Raleigh.

to be excused, saying "It is not unknown unto you that I have already undertaken a work tending to the same effect, which is in heroical verse under the title of

a Faerie Queene to represent all the *moral virtues*, assigning to every virtue a knight to be the patron and defender of the same.....And the same may very well serve for my excuse if at this time I crave to be forborne in this your request.....For it would require good advisement and premeditation for any man to undertake the declaration of these points that you have proposed, containing in effect the *Ethicke part of Morall Philosophie.*"¹ And it is well-known that Aristotle was the first to distinguish moral from intellectual (dianoetic) virtue, and his *Ethics* is professedly a moral treatise.² Hence Aristotle rather than Plato has been looked upon as furnishing the main moral conceptions in the Faerie Queene, and virtues like Chastity and Holiness have been sought to be traced to the Nicomachean Ethics.

But it is a mistake to pin Spenser down to the exact lines of his letter to Raleigh. His debt to Aristotle does not preclude the possibility of Plato's influence; on the contrary Platonism comes in inspite of his profession of

Reasons why Spenser mentions only Aristotle in his Letter.

strict adherence to Aristotle. There are obvious reasons why Spenser should have expressed himself as following Aristotle, and the letter to Raleigh itself gives one of the reasons.

¹ Hales on Edmund Spenser in the Globe Edition and Dean Church's monograph on Spenser in the E. M. L. Series, p. 82.

² Aristotle's *Ethics*, Bk. I, ch. XI.

Authors in Spenser's days liked to be the followers of renowned precedents, and Spenser states how moral and political virtues as distinguished apparently by Aristotle¹ had been dealt with in Tasso and Ariosto, not to mention Homer and Virgil, the former of whom flourished long before Aristotle. "Ariosto comprised them both in his Orlando, and lately Tasso dissevered them againe and formed both parts in two persons, namely that part which they in Philosophy call Ethice, or virtues of a private man coloured in his Rinaldo; the other named Politice in his Godfredo." He then says significantly, "*By ensample of which excellent Poets, I labour to pourtraict in Arthur before he was King, the image of a brave knight perfected in the..... twelve private morall vertues, as Aristotle hath devised.*" Spenser describes himself as a follower of Aristotle, simply because his master Ariosto had drawn upon the Ethics copiously.

There is another reason why he should have expressly followed Aristotle. His aim in composing the Faerie Queene was didactic and educational. "The generall end therefore of all the booke is to fashion a gentleman or noble person in vertuous and gentle discipline." This was also the aim of the Italian courtesy-books to which Spenser was indebted for his Platonic ideas on Love. Though following Ficinus and Pico in their conception of Love, the authors of these books bestowed the virtues of Aristotle on their ideal gentlemen. The moral excellence insisted on in the Cortegiano is derived from the Ethics.² Il Nennio expounds at length the doctrine of the mean. In Muzio's Gentiluomo the emphasis laid on good birth³ and virtue as the mark of a

¹ Ethics, Bk. I, ch. XI.

² Modern Language Review, Vol. V, p. 152.

³ Ethics, Bk. I, ch. VI. "Some things there are, again, a deficiency in which mars blessedness; *good birth*, for instance, or fine offspring, or even personal beauty."

typical courtier is also Aristotelian in origin as is, likewise, the doctrine of the mean.¹ Castiglione is of opinion that though high virtues are necessary in a gentleman, noble birth has its value. Guazzo in his *Civil Conversation* bitterly complains against the indifference with which this Aristotelian virtue was apt to be regarded by the society in his days. "Men had rather be born gentlemen and have nothing in the world but their rapier and cloak, than to be descended of base parentage and to be senators and presidents."² Following as he did these Italian authors in some respects Spenser naturally drew on Aristotle's *Ethics* for his conception of the virtues which he thought indispensable in an ideal gentleman, and readily acknowledged with pride his debt to the Stagirite.

Such are the reasons why Spenser professed to follow Aristotle in his *Letter to Raleigh*. And though he tried to be true to his profession in actual practice, he could not shake off the deep influence of the Philosophy of Plato, with the result that the Platonic tinge sticks to the Aristotelian virtues like temperance, chastity (in Aristotle it is modesty), and friendship.

Platonism in the *Faerie Queene* shines out clearly when it is compared with the "*Orlando Furioso*." The princely patron of Ariosto, when presented with a copy of his newly-finished poem, is said to have expressed his appreciation of the genius of the author by the question, "Where did you find so many stories, Master Ludovic?" Though it does not show the liberality of the prince, the remark partly indicates the source of the popularity and interest of the poem. Its attraction lies in the strange variety of its stories, the copiousness of its episodes and

¹ Modern Language Review, Vol. V, p. 154.

² Lewis Einstein's *Italian Renaissance in England*, p. 63.

the seriousness of its artistic conscience. There is nothing in the tone and in the sentiments which enlightens or purifies, which quickens moral sense or broadens moral outlook and raises us above the grosser realities of life. This, however, cannot be said of Spenser's poem. Though chivalry furnishes the background in both, and though the pupil often faithfully follows the master, their differences are striking enough. "Even where Spenser made use of characters and situations suggested by Ariosto, and of descriptions by Tasso, the *Faerie Queene* was yet written in a spirit far different from that which inspired the Italian Romantic epic. Its austerity inclined rather to the Platonism of Petrarch than the easy self-indulgence of Ariosto, or the high-coloured seriousness of Tasso."¹ "The one poet was the Puritan Platonist of the English Renaissance inheriting the traditions of mediæval allegory; the other was the child of sixteenth century Italy, the contemporary of Machiavelli and Aretino."² The contrast between the two poets is further brought out in a picturesque passage of Hallam. "The Italian is gay, rapid, ardent; his pictures shift like the hues of Heaven... Spenser is habitually serious; his slow stanza seems to suit the temper of his genius. He loves to dwell on the sweetness and beauty which his fancy portrays. The ideal of chivalry, rather derived from its didactic theory than from the precedents of Romance, is always before him. His morality is pure and stern with nothing of the libertine tone of Ariosto."³ The beauty and sweetness on which, as Hallam says, Spenser loves to dwell and the pure morality which is so characteristic of him are the striking

¹ Einstein's *Italian Renaissance in England*, p. 342.

² *Ibid.*, p. 344.

³ *Literature of Europe*, Vol. II.

manifestations of his Platonism. Here is to be seen the propriety of the remark which Sir Walter Scott made on the great Elizabethan poet—"A better Teacher than Scotus or Aquinas."

One illustration will show the difference between Ariosto and Spenser. Love in the *Orlando Furioso* is either a gross, vulgar passion, or the common human feeling or a sick sentimentality, the butt of cynic ridicule. In a host of characters notably in Rogero (in Alcyna's clutches) typified the first kind of love and in Orlando the second. The madness of Orlando is only a device to show¹ the deplorable consequences of love on young minds. Ariosto's conception of love goes thus far and no further. Ariosto cannot even dream of a love, not enervating or degrading but noble and inspiring, love that urges men on to aspire after noble things and attempt noble deeds. But it is this ideal of love, which is to be met with in Spenser.

"—that sweete fit that doth true beautie love,
And choseth vertue for his dearest Dame,
Whence spring all noble deedes and never dying fame:"

(F.Q. Bk. III, C. III. I).

Tasso had a more exalted ideal of love than Ariosto. The relation between Tancred and Erminia and between Rinaldo and Armida is different from the commonplace love found in chivalric stories and is of a more spiritual nature. How far Spenser was influenced by Tasso's ideal is uncertain and an enquiry into this is beyond the scope of this paper.

To compare Spenser's Platonism with Platonism in other English poets would be a tremendous task and require quite a separate treatise. Yet some attempt must be made to characterise Spenser's Platonism and to indicate its peculiarity. It has already been stated that

¹ "A briefe Allegorie of Orlando Furioso," by Harrington.

Spenser saw Plato through the Italian Neo-Platonists and through Plotinus. These were the recognised channels through which many English writers of the 16th and 17th centuries sought the acquaintance of Plato, *e.g.*, William Drummond, John Donne, and the Cambridge

Platonists. They accepted the interpretation of these commentators and used and incorporated it in their writings. These Elizabethans are to be distinguished from 19th century poets like Wordsworth and Shelley on whom also the influence of Plato is very distinct. The latter imbibed just the gist and essence of Plato's teaching while the former took it in with all its subsequent elaborations. Platonism only affected the latter's outlook on Nature, God and Soul, and created in them a mood, while in the case of the former, besides doing this it had taught a parallelism between Christianity and Platonic Philosophy and the affinity of the latter for Christian ideas.¹ Platonism in these 19th Century poets may be called personal Platonism, while the Platonism of Spenser and other 16th century poets may be called "traditional Platonism." Platonism in general or personal Platonism is love of the unseen and eternal cherished by one who rejoices in the seen and temporal. The Platonist feels "this invisible and eternal world present behind or, when the mood is most pressing, within the visible and temporal world, and sustaining both it and himself—a world not perceived as external to himself, but inwardly lived by him, as that with which, at moments of ecstasy or even habitually he is become one." This explains the presence which Wordsworth felt behind the beautiful scenes of the Highlands, rivers and mountains. "But traditional Platonism enlarges, and adds detail to the outline

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Platonism in Spenser, Drummond, Donne, contrasted with Platonism in Wordsworth and in Shelley.

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Personal and traditional Platonism.

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¹ Einstein's Italian Renaissance in England, p. 345.

description which is sufficient for personal Platonism and we are told that the man, who, in the temporal world, is haunted by the presence of the eternal world, is a Lover—that, from love of the visible and temporal, he is lifted up to love of the invisible and eternal world, of the existence of which his love is itself the sure evidence. Further, we are told that it is with its conjoined ideas, or Powers, of Goodness, Truth, and Beauty, operating, for one end, through the agency of a hierarchy of dependent Ideas or Powers, that the world invisible and eternal—sometimes the world, sometimes God—sustains the world visible and temporal. Further, we are told that the world so created is a living creature which has soul as well as body, and that it is through the intermediation of this created ‘soul of the world’ or ‘Plastic spirit of Nature,’ that the operation of God or of the eternal world of Ideas, actually reaches matter and moulds it into the form of the world visible and temporal”¹ The hierarchy of Ideas or Powers mentioned above had been identified with the Angels, Powers, Domi-

Spenser's Platonism
is traditional.

nations of the Christian Church, and Spenser's Hymns to Heavenly Love and Heavenly Beauty shew traces of this identification. The Soul of the world, the Daemon, the Plastic spirit of Nature represent ideas familiar to readers of Shelley. Spenser's Platonism is thus thoroughly traditional ; Shelley's Platonism is more traditional than Wordsworth's though less so than Spenser's.

Walter Pater says “For Plato all knowledge was like knowing a person.”² This is Plato's Realism. He is not fond of abstract qualities and he cannot argue about them or discourse on them as if they are the products of

¹ “Platonism in English Poetry” in “English Literature and the Classics,” Clarendon Press.

² Plato and Platonism.

generalisation. He invests them with a separate existence, and the soul actually beholds in Heaven "Justice, Temperance, and Knowledge Absolute."¹ This Realism of Plato has its effect on Spenser. It is due to Plato's influence that Spenser typifies virtues like chastity, temperance and justice in human characters. The elaborate

The Realism of
Plato—how it affects
Spenser.

allegories he constructs to illustrate by means of incidents and episodes the nature of these virtues show the working of the same influence. "Spenser borrows in fact the delicate and refined forms of the Platonic Philosophy to express his own moral enthusiasm...Justice, Temperance, Truth are no mere names to him, but real existences to which his whole nature clings with a rapturous affection." "With Spenser, as with Plato, abstractions acquire a separate individual existence being in fact, embodied as so many persons"²

Such is the general nature of Plato's influence on Spenser. But in order to ascertain its extent and import-

Platonism and Neo-
Platonism—Method of
study.

ance it is necessary to go into the subject more fully. The best way to do this is to examine in detail the leading ethical, philosophical and æsthetic conceptions in Spenser and trace them to Plato's works or to commentaries on them as far as possible. An attempt has been made to do this in the following pages. Critics think that Spenser's works shew two different periods of Platonic influence. The early period covered by the *Shepherd's Calender* and some portions of the *Faerie Queene* comprises Platonism pure and simple, and the later period represented mainly by the two later Hymns and *Amoretti* shews a tinge of Neo-Platonism in his Platonic ideas. The whole subject has accordingly been divided into two convenient

¹ Phaedrus.

² Benn—*The Greek Philosophers*, Vol. II, p. 370.

portions, and the purely Platonic conceptions in Spenser have been dealt with separately from ideas coloured with Neo-Platonism. But neither Platonic nor Neo-Platonic ideas are to be found in Spenser in their original forms ; in fact, they are largely mixed up with Aristotelian and Christian notions. To estimate correctly Spenser's debt to Plato and his followers, it has consequently been necessary to sift their ideas as found in his works from ethical and philosophical conceptions derived from other sources, and to shew them in their true colours.

CHAPTER II

THEORY OF POETRY

Discussions on the function and nature of Poetry fall within the province of Literary Criticism. English Literary Criticism was in its infancy in the Elizabethan Age, and hence crude and tentative. Although the germ of many later theories lay embedded in it, Literary Criticism of 16th-century England often misdirected itself and overstepped its legitimate bounds. It arose in controversy and was violently partisan in spirit; it included within its scope rhetoric as well as philology

Elizabethan theories of Literary art and of Poetry, as revealed in the prose treatises on criticism of that age, had many foreign sources

and was chiefly aimed at the moral defence of poetry. Yet it was not of purely indigenous growth. Like the literature, the criticism of that age too had many foreign sources. Aristotle

and Horace, Italian and French Criticism, both Latin and vernacular, of the 16th century were freely drawn upon. The common-place dictum about imitation (*mimesis*), the comparison of Poetry with History, the theory of the three unities are to be traced to Aristotle. The Horatian notion that the poet is legislator and vates, is also to be found in the essays of these times. In rhetorical matters the influence of Cicero is discernible. But Plato was quoted by

but Plato was not one of them, though Aristotle was.

critics only for the purpose of censuring poets and his verdict of banishment against them was often referred to. Even this was relied upon, and Plato's authority was

invoked, only by purists like Gosson. But apart from this solitary reference, the Elizabethan critics' debt to Plato is negligible in comparison with their copious borrowings from the canons of Horace, Aristotle and their French and Italian followers. "There is nothing in Elizabethan criticism corresponding to the influence exerted by the Platonic Philosophy on the works of the contemporary poets and thinkers."¹

The reason of this curious phenomenon, however, is not far to seek. Plato loved symbols and expressed himself in figurative language. Even his observations on Music and Poetry are veiled in poetic imagery. He was not a framer of set rules; on the contrary he examined the foundations of beliefs and ideas and tried to arrive at a comprehensive principle underlying them all. But criticism in the Elizabethan times was dogmatic, consisting in the application of rigid rules to works of Art. The canons of Aristotle, Horace, and the Renaissance critics lent themselves to this sort of handling easily, and consequently, Elizabethan criticism bears traces of these rather than of the Platonic ideas concern-

Platonic theories of Poetry can be expected not in set treatises but in the works of a contemplative poet like Spenser.

ing Art and Music. For the latter it is necessary to go not to professed critics and essayists, but to men who by virtue of their temperament and mood could appreciate the poetic genius of Plato.

In Elizabethan England none was more imbued with the teachings of the Academy, none was fitter by temperament and mentality to imbibe them than Spenser. This explains why Spenser did not contribute anything to the systematic critical efforts of his times. The method of rational inquiry and patient investigation on the lines laid down by predecessors was foreign to his genius. He indeed belonged to the Areopagus, the well-known

¹ Gregory Smith.

literary coterie including Sidney, and he must have been familiar with the contemporary attacks on Poetry and the attempts of critics to defend it and to define its nature and function. Sidney defended poets against the charge of lying and Roger Ascham, following Aristotle and Horace, defined Poetry as an art of imitation. Webbe, Puttenham and others examined the nature of Heroic Poetry and stated that it was the most accomplished kind of Poetry. But no trace of this type of criticism is to be found even in Spenser's Letters to Harvey,—the few pages of prose he devoted to critical work, though these are witnesses of his abortive attempt at the introduction of classical prosody into English under the advice of his learned friend. For Spenser's ideas on the nature of Poetry, we have therefore to go to his poems. Since these ideas were taken from the poetic pages of Plato, it is but natural that they should find a fit medium of expression in Poetry.

Plato's views on Poetry were determined by the place it held in Hellenic culture. The Greeks felt its effect at every turn in their daily life. "The rhapsode moved the crowds to laughter and tears at the festivals; the theatres were free, or almost free to all 'costing but a

Plato's views on Poetry determined by its place in the intellectual life of the Greeks of his days.

drachma at the most,' the intervals of a banquet were filled up by conversation about the poets."¹ Thus the influence which the poet exercised on the Greeks of Plato's times and consequently the opportunity which he had of shaping and moulding their character and temperament were considerable. A large part of elementary education consisted in learning poetry by heart and generally both information and instruction were conveyed to young minds through the medium of Poetry. Hence obviously poetry was a very important factor of

¹ Jowett.

the education of the youth. Poetry in those days included music, for its appeal was strongest when it was set to music. Illiterate people in ancient times had no taste for poetry as such. When poems were not set to music, they had to be recited in order to be appreciated by the people. Plato's remarks therefore apply both to poetry and music.

In poetry Plato recognised three distinct parts—the story or the words, the melody or harmony and rhythm.¹ Plato decided what sort of story was likely to be beneficial to the state, and it is well-known

Poetry in Plato includes music. Its three parts,—story, melody and rhythm.

how he prescribed banishment for those writers of fiction who ascribed vices to the gods. He was equally careful in the choice of harmony or melody. "Of the harmonies I know nothing, but I want to have one warlike, to sound the note or accent which a brave man utters in the hour of danger and stern resolve"² These were the Dorian and Phrygian harmonies. In the choice of metre or rhythm, too, Plato was guided by similar considerations. He thought that different rhythms expressed different moral states—meanness, insolence, fury or courage. Metres which are simple and avoid complexity are the "expressions of a courageous and harmonious life," while the complex ones are the exponents of a jarring soul. "Beauty of style and harmony and good rhythm dependon the true simplicity of a rightly and nobly ordered mind and character." "And ugliness and discord and in-

Simplicity of rhythm is both the cause and the effect of harmony in the soul.

harmonious motion are nearly allied to ill words and ill nature, as grace and harmony are the twin sisters of goodness and virtue and bear their likeness."³

¹ Republic, Bk. II.

² Republic, Bk. III.

³ Republic, Bk. III.

Simplicity of rhythm is not only the exponent of a previously existing harmony in the soul, it is also the generative cause of it, just as complexity and want of order in the rhythm or in the musical note produce in the mind of the audience a feeling of discord or jar. For young men, therefore, whose character is not yet shaped, whose temperament has not yet received any distinct stamp, the healthy influence of poetry and of rhythm

Hence the importance of good musical training and of good poetry for young minds.

is incalculable. "Musical training is a more potent instrument than any other, because rhythm and harmony find their way into the inward places of the soul, on which they mightily fasten, imparting and making the soul of him who is rightly 'educated' graceful, or of him who is ill-educated, ungraceful."¹

The basis of Plato's views on rhythm in poetry lies in his own Psychology and in his predilection for the theory of Harmony as developed by the Pythagoreans. In the Republic as well as in the Phædrus the soul is represented as the battle-ground of three elements—

Plato's views determined by his Psychology and his Pythagorean predilections.

Reason, Appetite and Passion. Moral excellence consists in a calm, unperturbed condition of the soul consequent on a balance of these three principles, and all types of moral deformity result from the predominance of the evil elements causing turmoil and discord. The one is Platonic Temperance, Justice or Courage and the other Intemperance, Injustice or Cowardice. The former is accordingly described by Plato as harmony and the latter as discord or jar. The training necessary for producing this harmony in the mind, which is meant by temperance and Justice, is music.² Jowett says, "There is something

¹ Republic, Bk. III.

² Republic, Bk. II.

Pythagorean in Plato's veneration for harmony," and the truth of this remark is amply borne out by the use to which Plato puts music and the connection he tries to establish between music and what he calls harmony in the human soul. The word harmony in the mouth of the Pythagoreans had always the suggestion of musical investigations. They made experiments with stringlengths and found out their arithmetical relations in consequence of which musical melody arose out of jarring notes. Melody or Music, therefore, was to them harmony

According to the Pythagoreans symphony is based on a reconciliation of opposites or harmony—a principle based on their musical investigations.

because its nature was numerically determinable, and according to the Pythagoreans, number itself stood for harmony and order, and disorder meant a state of things which was not amenable to calculation according to the theory of numbers. "They declared that the odd and the even (numbers) are respectively identical with the limited and the unlimited. As all numbers are composed of the even and the odd, all things also combine in themselves fundamental antitheses, and specially that of the limited and the unlimited. To this Heracleitan fundamental principle there is bound this logical consequence that everything is the reconciliation of opposites or a harmony." The musical sound which they assumed to arise from the revolution of the spheres was called by them "Harmony of the spheres." It is this conception of reconciliation of the opposites with its necessary consequence of order and beauty that lies embedded in the Platonic doctrine of harmony, and Plato applies to his analysis of the soul, the

Plato applies the physical and mathematical conclusions of the Pythagoreans to his study of the human soul

results of the Pythagoreans' musical investigations; for appetite, passion and reason are violent antagonists of one another engaged in a continuous warfare.

It is the resultant state of order which is named Harmony by Plato. Now the Pythagoreans only described melody or music as harmony (as in "the Harmony of the spheres"), but Plato, as noted above, looked upon Music as capable of producing harmony in disorder as an external agency. Plato's opinion may be paralleled by the theory of Medical science that sweet sounds soothe disordered brains and soft notes bring repose to agitated nerves. In 'King Lear,' the doctor prescribes this treatment for the frantic king. Plato seems to believe that the notes of music enter the soul and there regulate the motives and feelings (which Plato conceives in terms of matter) by imparting to them

and wants to produce harmony in the soul by means of musical harmony (to be injected into the ear).

their own order, symmetry and proportion. The idea is a little uncommon. It implies the control of immaterial entities with such physical objects as sound-waves which can only strike the drum of the ear. Plato thus describes the musical training of boys:—
 "When they (teachers) have taught him the use of the lyre, they introduce him to the poems of other excellent poets who are the lyric poets; and these they set to music, and make their harmonies and rhythms quite familiar to children's souls, in order that they may learn to be more gentle and harmonious and rhythmical." The actual process of tempering the soul is also indicated:—
 "When a man allows music to play upon him and to pour into his soul through the funnel of his ears those sweet and soft and melancholy airs of which we were just now speaking, and his whole life is passed in warbling and the delights of song; in the first stage of the process the passion or spirit which is in him is tempered like iron, and made useful, instead of brittle and useless."¹ The same idea occurs in the Laws.²

¹ Republic, Bk. III.

² Laws, VII, 802.

The power of music as conceived here is similar to that attributed to St. Cecilia's "vocal breath," and Dryden expresses the idea admirably in his "Song for St. Cecilia's Day," where the creation of the cosmos is represented as proceeding to the tune of Heavenly Music.

Plato's theory followed by Dryden

"Where nature underneath a heap
Of jarring atoms lay
And could not heave her head,
The tuneful voice was heard from high
Arise, ye more than dead!
Then cold and hot and moist and dry
In order to their stations leap,
And Music's power obey."

It is this Platonic conception of music and poetry which we find scattered in Spenser, for Spenser has not dealt with the topic at length anywhere as he has handled the

Platonic theories of Love in his Hymns.
and by Spenser.

In the October Eclogue of the Shepherds Calender, Cuddie laments the lot of poets and depreciates their art as but feeding the fancy of the youth and pandering to their giddy taste. But Pierce replies in a higher strain, saying that the poet teaches the youth and controls their wildness.

"O! what an honor is it, to *restraine*
The *lust of lawlesse* youth with good advice
Or pricke them forth with pleasaunce of thy vaine,
Whereto thou list their trayned willes entice."

Again, he thus describes the effect of Cuddie's song:—

"Soone as thou gynst to sette thy *notes* in frame,
O! how the rurall routes to thee doe cleave!
Seemeth thou dost their *soule of sence bereave*."

The meaning is that Music promotes harmony and temperance in the soul. If there were any doubt as to the

exact import of these lines and the actual source of their inspiration, it has been set at rest by the glosse of E. K. In explaining the words "restraine the lust of lawlesse youth with good advice," E. K. refers to the source of the idea underlying them and says, "This place seemeth to conspyre with Plato, who in his first booke de Legibus sayth, that the first invention of poetry was of very vertuous intent. For at what time an infinite number of youth usually came to theyr great solemne feasts called Panegyrica, which they used every five yeare to hold, some learned man, being more hable then the rest for speciall gyfts of wytte and Musicke would take upon him to sing fine verses to the people in prayse either of virtue or of victory. At whose wonderfull gyft al men being astonied and as it were ravished with delight thinking that he was inspired from above, called him vatem." On the lines beginning with the words "sence bereave," E. K. comments as follows;—"What the secret working of Musick is in the myndes of men, as well appeareth hereby, that some of the auncient Philosophers, and those the moste wise, as *Plato and Pythagoras, held for opinion, that the mynd was made of a certaine harmonie and musicall numbers*, for the great compassion, and likenes of affection in thone and in the other, as also by that memorable history of Alexander." Then, after stating the effect of different notes of music on Alexander, (also described in Dryden's *Alexander's Feast*) he continues, "Wherefore Plato and Aristotle forbid the Arcadian Melodie from children and youth. For that being altogether on the fyft and vii tone, it is of great force to molifie and quench the kindly courage which useth to burne in yong brests. So that it is not incredible which the poet here sayth, that Musick can bereave the soule of sence." The *same idea* occurs in the Teares of the Muses. Erato or the Muse of Erotic Poetry laments that she has

been put out of her function by verses that kindle disorder in the soul and fill it with wild lewdness instead of with true love.

“ For I that rule in *measure moderate*
The tempest of that stormy passion,
 And use to paint in rimes the troublous state
 Of Lovers life in likest fashion,
 Am put from practice of my kindlie skill,
 Banisht by those that *Love with leawdnes fill.*”

According to the theory of Plato true love would be possible only in a well-balanced soul.

According to Plato true beauty, the essence of beauty or the beauty of God is visible to the human souls in the other world in proportion as they have achieved this balance or harmony. It is fully visible only to the Gods. The Phaedrus gives an account how the souls' chariots follow the Gods along the vault of Heaven and how the two unruly steeds disobey the Charioteer and cause the downfall of the human souls (*i.e.*, chariots containing them) just after they had a momentary glimpse of “the vast sea of Beauty.” These souls come to the earth clothed in different bodies but still they have a dim recollection of their glorious vision. Plato says “The soul which has seen most of truth shall come to the birth as a philosopher, or artist, or musician, or lover; that which has seen truth in the second degree shall be a righteous king or warrior or lord; the soul which is of the third class shall be a politician, or economist, or trader—all these are states of probation, in which he who lives righteously improves, and he who lives unrighteously deteriorates his lot” (Phaedrus). All these men do not retain the recollection of the vision equally well—to most of them it is very dim, and to the philosopher only it is fresh and clear. Hence the philosopher who is always

rapt in contemplation is represented by Plato as a lover enraptured with the beauty on which his soul loves to dwell. "He is always, according to the measure of his abilities, clinging in recollection to those things in which God abides, and in beholding which He is what he is." "He is like a bird fluttering and looking upward and careless of the world below." (Phaedrus.) Whoever has seen Beauty in the other world and recollects and tries to attain to it, is a lover and the philosopher is the most fervent lover, according to Plato. By the philosopher Plato means also the poet, and the philosopher's quest of truth and the poet's worship of beauty both receive their stimulus from love. Poetry therefore is inspired by love. It is love that raises the poet on its golden wings high above the gross and the earthly and gives him a vision of the "blessed mysteries" and of the realm of ethereal beauty of which he sings. Spenser has this conception of the poet throughout his poems. Loose versifiers are not poets. "The rakehell rout of English rhymers" of Gosson are not poets, wanton love does not help the production of poetry, wildness and a life of sensual pleasure are alien to its true spirit. It is the life of rational pursuits, the life of culture or; in the Platonic imagery, it is love that favours the growth of true poetry. In the opening lines to each of the four Hymns, Spenser invokes love to help on his song. In the "Hymne of Heavenly Love" the beginning is this:—

Poet is a lover of the ideal spiritual beauty and not of sensible beauty. This Platonic teaching found in Spenser

"Love, lift me up upon thy golden wings,
 From this base world unto thy heavens hight,
 Where I may see those admirable things
 Which there thou workest by thy sovaine might
 Farre above feeble reach of earthy sight,
 That I thereof an heavenly Hymne may sing
 Unto the God of Love, high heavens King."

In the Shepheards Calender Pierce laments that there is no reward for poets even if they celebrate the glory of princes and noblemen in their poems, and it is better for them to shun earthly themes and take up the divine ones. Cuddie replies that Colin would be fitter than he to do justice to such a subject were he not hopelessly in love. But Pierce remarks :—

“ Ah, fon! for love *does teach him climbe so hie,*
 And lyftes him up *out of the loathsome myre:*
 Such immortal mirrhor, as he doth admyre,
 Would rayse ones mynd above the starry skie
 And cause a caytive corage to aspire ;
 For lofty love doth loath a lowly eye.

(October Eclogue—l. 91-96.)

The other view of Poetry which is the view of the many and which is responsible for the multiplication of literary vermin and rhymsters, is that poetry is fed on pleasure and unholy mirth, fashion and folly. Cuddie is the exponent of this theory.

who rejects the opposite view that license fosters the production of poetry.

“ The vaunted verse a vacant head demaundes,
 Ne wont with crabbed care the Muses dwell :
 Whoever casts to compasse weighty prise,
 And thinkes to throwe out thondering words of threate,
 Let powre in lavish cups and thriftie bitts of meate,
 For Bacchus fruite is frend to Phoebus wise ;
 And, when with Wine the braine begins to waste,
 The numbers flowe as fast as spring doth ryse.”

(October Eclogue.)

But in the Teares of the Muses, Erato states that the source of Poetry lies in Love—pure love that has its birth-place in the Almighty's bosom but which is unintelligible to the so-called poets.

“ Love wont to be *school master of my skill,*
 And the *devicefull matter of my song ;*

Sweete love devoyed of villanie or ill,
 But pure and spotless, *as at first he sprong*
Out of the Almightyes bosome, where he nests ;
 From thence infused into mortall breasts.
 Such *high conceipt of celestiall fire*,
 The base-borne brood of blindnes cannot gesse
 Ne dare their dunghill thoughts aspire
 Unto so loftie pitch of perfectnesse
 But rime at riot and doo rage in love ;
 Yet little wote what doth thereto behove."

It will be seen that Spenser has followed Plato's idea that poetry is an inspiration and not simply an art, along with his theory that love is at the root of all poetry. In fact the former idea is implied in the latter. If it is true that only the lover can sing nobly and that love stimulates the production of poetry, it follows as a consequence that there is little of human agency in literary creation. It is the importunate desire which furnishes the inspiration, and man is but a machine to which force is supplied from outside, and over this man has no control. Plato deals with the topic at length in *Ion* and says, "All good poets, epic as well as lyric, compose their beautiful poems not as works of art, but because they are inspired and possessed."¹ This inspiration defies rational ana-

Plato says in the *Ion* that poetry is an inspiration and not simply an art.

lysis and is inexplicable according to the ordinary laws of psychology. "As the Corybantian revellers when they dance are not in their right mind, so the lyric poets are not in their right mind when they are composing their beautiful strains: but when falling under the power of music and metre they are inspired and possessed."¹ Plato tries to define the nature of this inspiration more accurately by calling it madness; and in the *Phaedrus* he puts poetic fervour in one of the categories

¹ *Ion*.

of madness. "There is a third kind of madness, which is a possession of the Muses; this enters into a delicate and virgin soul, and there inspiring frenzy, awakens lyric and all other numbers.....But he who not being inspired and having no touch of madness in his soul comes to the door and thinks that he will get into the temple by the help of art,—he I say, and his poetry are not admitted."¹ Developing the idea and giving it a poetic garb Plato says that (this madness or) inspiration comes from the Muses. He proceeds further and says it is traceable to God Himself. "They (poets) are simply inspired to utter that to which the *Muse impels them, and that only.....God takes away the minds of poets*, and uses them as his ministers." (Ion.) The October Eclogue of the Shepherds Calender embodies these reflections of Plato. In the argument Spenser describes the nature of Poetry almost exactly in the words of Plato—"no arte but a *divine gift and heavenly instinct* not to be gotten by laboure and learning but adorned with both; and poured into the wit by a *certain Enthousiasmos and Celestiall inspiration*." Again, the prose translation of Cuddie's Embleme given at the foot of the

This view is adopted by Spenser in the Shepherd's Calender, and by E. K. in his Glosse.

Eclogue stands thus: "Hereby is meant, as also in the whole course of this Æglogue, that Poetry is a *divine instinct, and unnatural rage, passing the reach of common reason*." This is a clear indication of the ideas underlying this poem. Besides this there are numerous hints in the body of the Æclogue as to Spenser's views on Poetic inspiration. Poetry is spoken of as "streams of flowing wittes," "buddes of Poesie," and as "*shooting*" and "*springing*," the suggestion being the spontaneity of its growth. There is nothing implying

¹ Phaedrus.

that the Art of Poetry has to be mastered only with severe patience and after protracted self-training, that every poet possesses through a period of severe self-criticism. Even Cuddie who is in this Æglogue the exponent of the current and popular theory of poetry, *viz.*, that poets can afford to live a life of low and vulgar pleasure, admits its spontaneous growth.

“.....When with wine the braine begins to sweate,
The numbers flowe as fast *as spring doth ryse.*”

Again,

“Thou Kenst not, Percie, howe *the ryhme should rage,*
O ! if my temples were distained with wine,
And girt in girlonds of wild yvie twine,
How could I reare the Muse on stately stage,
And teache her tread aloft in buskin fine,
With queint Bellona in her equipage !”

The words “numbers flowe as fast as spring doth ryse” clearly indicate the rapid composition of inspired poets. This is also the underlying idea in the next few lines on which E. K. comments thus :—“he seemeth here to be ravished with a Poetical furie. For (if one rightly mark) the numbers rise so ful, and the verse groweth so big that it seemeth he forget the meannesse of Shephard’s state and stile.” The other imagery of Plato symbolising the inspiration of poets, *viz.*, that God or the heavenly Muse bestows the power of song on poets, is also to be found in the following lines of Spenser :—

“O pierless Poesye ! where is then thy place ?
If nor in Princes pallace thou doe sitt,
(And yet is Princes pallace the most fitt),
Ne brest of baser birth doth thee embrace,
Then make thee winges of thine aspyring wit,
And, *whence thou camst, flye back to heaven apace.*”

The hint contained in these lines is that there is no fit theme on earth for the God-given power of song and no reward for its achievements, and so the poet would be well advised to sing of the glory of God, the source of his inspiration.

Spenser follows in the footsteps of Plato in exercising a censorship on Poetry. Plato devotes two books of the Republic to determining the form of this censorship.

Following Plato, Spenser wants some restriction on the scope of poetry.

One form of it consists of a restriction on the choice of subjects to be handled in Literature. All stories about the vices of the gods and their moral deformity were proscribed, and poets in the ideal Republic were to sing of virtue and heroic deeds only. Fiction according to Plato was a lie, and it could not be permitted to flourish without restriction. Stories that represented the gods to be possessed of magic powers, or painted overwhelming grief or caused roars of laughter or painted in horrid colours the pictures of the nether world were prohibited. "We must remain firm in our conviction that *hymns to the gods and praises of famous men* are the only poetry which ought to be admitted to our state."¹ "Anything he (the youngman) receives into his mind at that age is likely to become indelible and unalterable; and therefore it is most important that the tales which the young first hear should be models of *virtuous thoughts*."² Spenser holds the same opinion regarding the subject-matter of Poetry. He himself has been called "the sage poet," and he has definitely expressed in clear and unambiguous language the high moral purpose which ought to guide a poet. He had a very strong opinion against the spirit of contemporary poetry, and in the Tears of the Muses

¹ Republic, Bk. X.

² Republic, Bk. II.

he expresses his abhorrence of the productions of his age which are characterised as :—

“ Heepes of huge wordes uphoorded hideously,
With Horrid sound though having little sence ”

Praise of virtue is looked upon as one of the
legitimate themes of Poetry. In the
Praise of virtue. Mother Hubberds Tale, we have the
following lines :—

“ Ah for shame,
Let not sweet Poets praise, whose only pride
Is virtue to advance, and vice deride,
Ne with the works of losels wit defamed
Ne let such verses Poetrie be named ”.

In the Teares of the Muses Calliope declares :—

“—*the nurse of vertue* I am hight,
And golden Trumpet of eternitie.”

Spenser's poetic creed also includes the celebration
of the feats of ‘ heroes ’ or famous men
(as Plato has it). He is impressed like
Celebration of heroic deeds. Plato with the necessity of “adorning
the myriad actions of ancient heroes for the instruction
of posterity.”¹ Calliope laments that epic poetry which
blazoned forth the deeds of brave men flourishes no
more, because the brave are given to sloth and vice.

“ For they to whom I used to applie
The faithful service of my learned skill,
The goodly offspring of Joves progenie,
That wont the world with famous acts to fill
Whose living praises in heroick style,
It is my chiefe profession to compyle ;
They, all corrupted through the rust time
That doth all fairest things on earth deface,
Have both *desire of worthie deeds forlorne,*
And name of learning utterly do scorne.”

(Teares of the Muses.)

¹ Phædrus,

The reasons for chronicling the actions of heroes in verse are also given by Spenser.

“ Who would ever care to doo brave deed,
Or strive in vertue others to excell,
If none should yield him his deserved meed,
Due praise, that is the spur of doing well ?
For if good were not praised more than ill,
None would choose goodness of his own freewill.”

(Teares of the Muses)

The sonnets “ addressed by the author of the Faerie Queene to various noblemen ” in commending his poem to their patronage also give Spenser’s ideas regarding the advisability of enshrining heroic deeds in poetry. The Sonnet to the Earl of Northumberland has these lines :—

“ The Sacred Muses have made alwaies clame
To be the Nourses of nobility,
And Registres of everlasting fame
To all that armes professe and chevalry.”
“ Then, by like right the noble Progeny,
Which them succeed in fame and worth, are tyde
T’ embrace the service of sweete Poetry,
By whose *endeavours they are glorifide.”*

The Sonnets to Lord Ch. Howard and Sir John Norris, Lord President of Munster contain similar ideas.

“ The hymns to the God ” which constitute another class of licensed poetry in Plato’s Republic do not appear in Spenser in exactly the same form in which Plato probably would have liked to see them. Spenser does not sing peans of praise to the mythological gods of Greece except Cupid and Venus to whose glorification the first and second hymns are respectively devoted. Though these are in the ordinary amorous vein, they have preserved the form and externals of hymnic composition. Spenser, however, repented the amorous composition

And glorification of God are according to Plato and Spenser the proper subject matter of poetry.

of the 'greener times' of his youth and, by way of retraction of what he considered to be objectionable verses, produced the two other poems which more nearly approach the spirit of devotional poetry or hymn. In them he celebrated the praise not of the Greek gods but of the Deity, the "High Heaven's King" and

"—His truth, His love, His wisdom and His blis,
His grace, his doome, his mercy and his might
By which he lends us of himselfe a sight."

It may also be urged that he used the word 'hymn' in the titles of his four poems advisedly. The last two hymns have all the seriousness and solemnity of the litany and the feeling of devotion which Plato surely wanted in his 'Hymns to the gods.'

CHAPTER III.

BLENDING OF PLATO AND ARISTOTLE,—TEMPERANCE

Critics look upon Spenser's conception and treatment of the virtue of Temperance as strictly Aristotelian¹ and the second book of the *Fairie Queene* as based on the chapters on self-control in the *Nicomachean Ethics*. There can be no doubt about Spenser's dependence on Aristotle for his conception of this virtue, but this criticism overlooks the part played by Plato's philosophy in Book II.

It is certain that there has been a curious blending of Plato and Aristotle in this book. Spenser did not read

Spenser's conception of Temperance is a blend of Platonic and Aristotelian doctrines.

Aristotle and Plato critically, since the times were not yet ripe for such study and evidently his memory could not keep the doctrines of the one separate from those of the other. In writing his poem he was not so much concerned with the accurate presentation of philosophic thought as with his immediate purpose. Hence the Aristotelian mean and the Platonic harmony, Aristotle's classification of virtues and Plato's theory of their unity got mixed up.

It is clear that the structure of the poem is determined by Aristotle's classification of the objects of self-control. The episodes present in a concrete form the different kinds of intemperance as conceived by Aristotle. In Book III, ch. XIII, of his *Ethics* Aristotle says, "The habits of perfected self-mastery and entire absence of

¹ *Mod. Phil.*, Vol. XVI, p. 251.

self-control have for their object-matter such pleasure as brutes also share in.....they are touch and taste." Latterly Aristotle merges taste in touch and regards the latter alone as the object of Temperance. We further find in Aristotle that anger and things like money, gain and honour are also regarded as objects of self-control, though they are to be called so only by analogy. Spenser devises Guyon's adventures in accordance with this classification of Aristotle. His first and greatest enemy

Structure of the poem: second book of the Fairy Queen determined by Aristotle's classification of virtues covered by Temperance.

is Acrasia whom he undertakes to subdue in the very first canto of the poem. Furor and Pyrochles represent anger and Mammon wealth. The three sisters Elissa, Medina and Perissa together with the lovers of the eldest and of the youngest may also be taken to illustrate Aristotle's doctrine of the Extremes and of the mean. At any rate Spenser says in the little stanza prefacing the Second Canto that he puts this interpretation on the story of the three sisters. But Spenser was attracted more by the profoundness of Plato's thought than by the subtle analytics of Aristotle, and beneath these palpable Aristotelian theories lies the undercurrent of Platonism. Platonism is the informing spirit of the poem—it enters into all

But the characters of the personae are imbued with Platonic ideas.

the basic conceptions of the characters and their inner psychology. The characters of Pyrochles, Cymochles and Guyon as presented by Spenser breathe the spirit of Platonic philosophy. The house of Alma as depicted in Canto IX, has no other object than to give in a concrete form Plato's theory of moral government.

Aristotle has divided vice and virtue into separate sub-classes. His analysis has proceeded further and enquired into the subject-matter of each virtue and of each vice, the popular opinions concerning them, the analogies

formed on them and so forth. Aristotle's ideas are eminently practical and easy to comprehend, and as such were very acceptable to later generations, the scholastics of the Middle Ages who superimposed their own subtle distinctions on them. Plato's contemplative mood has no interest for details and he tries to go beyond the separate virtues and vice as manifested in action and disposition and to find out their one common cause or the source of them all in the soul. It is the inner man and the inner life which is the subject of Plato's enquiry. The one thing on which Plato insists is the unity of moral life and the unity of virtue. This is the teaching which Plato seeks to inculcate in more than one of his Dialogues. The unity of virtue is the subject-matter of Protagoras. It is also the teaching of the Republic. Socrates asks, "Virtue is the health and beauty and well-being of the soul, and vice the disease and weakness and deformity of the same?"

'True'

"The argument seems to have reached a height from which, as from some tower of speculation, a man may look down and see that *virtue is one*, but that the forms of vice are innumerable."¹

The Republic records Plato's enquiry about the virtue of man—which includes according to his doctrine of the unity of Virtue, Temperance, Courage, Justice and Wisdom. Plato maintains that there is a close analogy between virtue in man and virtue in the state and it is well-known how from an examination of the latter he determines

The Republic defines Temperance as a harmony of moral principles and identifies it with justice.

what constitutes healthy moral life in man. Plato discovers in man's inner being three principles corresponding to the three different classes of citizens in the state—the rulers, (in Plato's language "guardians")

¹ Republic.

the soldiers and the labouring classes. These principles are Reason the function of which is equivalent to that of the guardians in the state, Passion or Anger which in its fury and violence resembles the warrior class in the state and Appetite which seeks material comfort and is equivalent to the productive classes or labourers. When the two other classes do their own duties properly under the guidance of the guardians, the state enjoys perfect health resulting in the greatest happiness of its members. Timocracy, Democracy or Tyranny ensues as one of these subordinate classes or the other gets the better of the guardians and assumes functions not its own. Thus the strength and happiness of the state depend on a balance of different and conflicting classes of its citizens. Similarly, so long as the two principles in the soul do their respective duties under the guidance and direction of Reason, there is peace and harmony in the soul. This is the state of Temperance. Temperance is not the virtue of any particular part or principle of the soul, but it is the result of the agreement among all as to who be their controller and guide. This may also be called the state of Justice in the soul as Justice according to Plato consists in doing one's own duty, and harmony in the soul is possible only when the different principles confine themselves within the strict limits of their own duties and do not overstep them by aggressive encroachments on others' spheres of work. Discord ensues when a subordinate principle—Passion or Appetite—tries to assert its superiority in defiance of Reason. It manifests itself as anger or concupiscence and, as Plato puts it, corresponding to every disease in the state—Timocracy, Oligarchy or Democracy—there is a disease in the soul. Now Plato considers harmony to be the normal condition of the soul and every form of discord to be a disease and a vice. Hence according to Plato

the health or harmony of the soul is the condition precedent to the existence of any virtue in it—in fact he regards this as equivalent to that virtue whose unity he is never weary of emphasising. The just man “sets in order his own inner life, and is his own master and his own law, and at peace with himself, and when he has bound together the three principles within him, which may be compared to the higher, lower, and middle notes of the scale, and the intermediate intervals—when he has bound all these together, and is no longer many but has become one entirely temperate and perfectly adjusted nature, then he proceeds to act, if he has to act, whether in a matter of property, or in the treatment of the body or in some *affair of politics or private business*.”¹ Similarly discord or injustice in the soul is the condition on which the existence of every vice depends,—it is “a meddlesomeness, and interference, and rising up of a part of the soul against the whole” . . . “What is all this confusion and delusion but injustice and intemperance and cowardice and ignorance and every form of vice?”²

This comprehensive idea so characteristically Hellenic had a strong hold on Plato's mind and we find a repetition of it, in a slightly different form, in the *Phaedrus*. The tripartite division of the soul and the conception of balance are discernible in the figure of the two winged horses and a charioteer driving them. One of the horses is good and the other bad, the good horse being Passion (or Anger) which more often is a help to Reason than a hindrance, which the bad horse or Appetite usually is. When perfectly balanced or fully winged the chariot of the soul soars upwards and sees Justice, Knowledge and Absolute

The *Phaedrus* repeats the theory of the Symposium.

¹ Republic, Bk. IV.

² Republic, Bk. III.

Beauty. But when the steeds are disobedient, the poise is disturbed and the horses tread on one another and fall down losing their wings. Here we find that the vision of the Reality depends on the steeds' obedience to the charioteer, which in plain language means that every kind of virtue issues out of the harmony in the soul.

The Aristotelian mean seems to be an arbitrary standard when compared with the Platonic conception of temperance or harmony. Spenser draws on the Platonic conception in creating characters as already stated, and also in his reflections. The character of Pyrochles as presented by Spenser shews clearly the

Pyrochles is the reverse of Platonic temperance—there is a turmoil in his soul, with the predominance of anger.

poet's Platonic ideas. Pyrochles represents the violence of anger but the poet emphasises more the turmoil in his soul, his inward "burning" than the manifestation of his disposition in overt action. Pyrochles' violent temperament is announced by his servant Atin. When he appears on the scene, he commences the fight without even stopping to greet Guyon. He fights rashly and is defeated. Guyon then tells him not to mind the defeat in this fight for a more terrible fight is going on in his soul.

"Fly O Pyrochles! fly the dreadful warre
That in thy selfe thy lesser partes do move:
Outrageous *anger*, and woe-working *jarre*,
.
.
.
Direfull *impatience*, and hart-murdering love:
Those, those thy foes, those warriours far remove,
Which thee to endlesse bale captived lead."

(C. V—16).

In Plato the inwardness of Temperance or Justice and the harmony which it implies are thus spoken of:—"Justice is such as we were describing, being concerned not with the outward man, but with the inward which is

the true self and concernment of man; for the just man does not permit the *several elements within him to interfere with one another*. . . . he sets in order his own inner life, and is his own master and his own law, and at peace with himself."¹ Again, "Must not injustice be a *strife which arises among the three principles*—a meddlesomeness and interference?" Spenser begins the canto where Pyrochles appears for the first time with these lines :—

"Whoever doth to temperance apply
His steadfast life, and all his actions frame,
Trust me, shal find no greater enemy
Then stubborne *perturbation* to the same;
To which right well the wise do give that name,
For it the goodly peace of staid mindes
Does *overthrow*, and troublous warre proclame."

(C. V—I.)

Anger, thus, is a disturbance in the soul which overthrows the balance of the mind. That the intemperance of Pyrochles is an inward discord in the soul, is also proved by the exclamations of the giant warrior when he throws himself into the river to quench his burning sensation :—

"I burne, I burne, I burne,
O ! how I burne with implacable fyre;
Yet nought can quench mine *inly flaming syde*."

(C. VI—44)

t" Harrow ! the flames which me consume, (said hee)
Ne can be quencht, *within my scered bowelles bee*."

(C. VI—49)

Though Platonism has a place in the conception of Pyrochles' character, Aristotle's ideas are not absent. Almost every important character in Book II is based on

¹ Republic, Bk. IV.

a blending of Platonic and Aristotelian ideas. Knowledge is an essential part of courage according to the teaching both of Plato and Aristotle, and want of knowledge, discrimination and foresight is, as already seen, glaring in the character both of Pyrochles and Cymochles. Besides this, the vice of excess as contrasted with the mean is clearly noticeable in Pyrochles' character, but Aristotelian courage is a mean between Foolhardiness and Cowardice. Braggado-

But Aristotle's ideas on foolhardiness also enter into the conception of Pyrochles' character.

chio stands for the latter extreme, while the two 'Paynim brethren' represent the former.¹ Pyrochles fears nothing while Braggadochio is afraid even of a woman.

But according to Aristotle "He is brave who withstands and fears, and is bold, in respect of right objects, from a right motive, in right manner, and at right times."² Again "Nobleness is the motive from which the Brave man withstands things fearful." Guyon's motive in undertaking his adventures is the destruction of the Bower of Bliss. This is a worthy motive; but Pyrochles has no proper motive for seeking Occasion.

"All in blood and spoile is his *delight*."

As Pyrochles is marked by anger, so Mordant is characterised by sensuality. His sensuality too is represented by Spenser as an inward discord. The poet's reflection on the dead body of the knight is as follows:—

"When *raging passion with fierce tyranny*
Robs reason of her dew regalitie,
 And makes it servaunt to her basest part,
 The strong it weakens with infirmitie."

(C. I—52)

Here 'passion' means appetite, and sensuality is the disturbance of the soul's harmony caused by the ascendancy

¹ See M. Phil. Vol. XVI. 246-253.

² Ethics, Bk. III, ch. X.

of concupiscence over reason. We have the following in Plato's Republic corresponding to these lines of Spenser. "Over this (concupiscent part of the soul) they

Discord in Mordant's soul expressed in his sensuality—a Platonic interpretation of his character.

(music and gymnastics) will keep guard, lest, waxing great and strong with the fulness of bodily pleasures, as they are termed, the concupiscent soul, no longer confined to her own sphere, should attempt to enslave and rule those who are not her natural-born subjects (Reason), and overturn the whole life of man." The change effected in Mordant by sensuality affects his inner life and is thus described by his wife Amavia:—

"So transformed from his former skill
That *me he knew not*, nether his owne ill."

(C. II—54)

Spenser also interprets this tragedy in Aristotle's manner. Temperance means following the golden mean according to Aristotle, and Mordant

Spenser also interprets his character in the manner of Aristotle.

ought to have pursued a *viâ media* between total abstinence and excess.

While in the stanza quoted above a Platonic representation of the vice of the knight is given, *viz.*, that it is a struggle in the soul in which concupiscence has the better of reason, in another stanza Spenser says in the language of Aristotle:—

"Temperance with golden squire
Betwixt them both can *measure out a meane* ;
Nether to melt in pleasures whotte desyre,
Nor frye in heartlesse grieve and dolefull tene :"

Plato speaks of music and gymnastics as the means of promoting harmony in the moral life of man,—music having the effect of soothing down animal passion and gymnastics counteracting the tendency to too much softness and thoughtfulness produced by the mere

exercise of the rational faculty. Thus the remedy for a moral disease is internal. The symphony of music restores the balance of the soul when disturbed and consolidates it if undisturbed. Though gymnastics is an exercise of the limbs, yet its stimulating effect on the soul alone is taken into consideration by Plato and its recommendation is based on his recognition of the truth that the health of the soul depends on a balance of its three elements—reason, passion, and appetite. When the intemperance of Mordant in Acrasia's Bower had changed his soul by the subversion of reason and the ascendancy of appetite, Amavia for a time brought him back to his normal condition by a wise direction of his inner life. (This corresponds to the effect of music as defined by Plato.) Amavia says:—

“Through wise *handling* and *faire governaunce*
I him recured to a better will,
Purged from drugs of fowle intemperance.”

Aristotle also deals with the change produced by intemperance. But while Plato looks upon the change as affecting the essence of the soul, Aristotle regards it as something affecting the nervous system. “It is clear then that we must regard incontinent people as being in much the same condition as people who are asleep or mad or intoxicated.” As for the restoration of such incontinent people to their original state, he says, “If it be asked how the incontinent person is delivered from ignorance and restored to knowledge, it may be answered, that the process is the same as in the case of one who is intoxicated or asleep; it is not peculiar to the condition of incontinence, and the proper authorities upon it are the physiologists.”¹ The difference between Plato and Aristotle in their methods of

¹ Ethics, Bk. VII, Ch. V.

treatment of persons suffering from moral disorder shows the difference of their ideas about the disease itself.

Difference between Aristotle's and Plato's theories of intemperance.

According to Plato immorality is an internal disease, a disturbance of the harmony of the soul, while according to Aristotle it is a mere external thing, a nervous disorder at the most.

The castle of Alma is a distinct allegory of the Platonic doctrines of harmony and discord in the soul. Alma is the Rational Soul and the smooth working of her castle secured through the obedience of her servants symbolises the Platonic harmony, and the servants themselves are the various faculties of man.

"In a body which doth freely yeeld
His partes to reasons rule obedient,
And letteth her that ought the Scepter weeld,
All happy peace and goodly government
Is settled there in sure establishment."

(C. XI.-2)

This may be paralleled by the following passage from the Republic:—"Most truly then may we deem Temperance to be the agreement of the naturally superior and inferior as to the right rule of either both in state and the individual. And would you not say that he is temperate who has these same elements in friendly harmony, in whom the one ruling principle of reason and the two subject ones of spirit and desire are equally agreed that reason ought to rule, and do not rebel?"¹ It may be noticed here that Spenser does not always follow Plato's threefold division of the soul strictly. The number of those who work under Alma and obey her orders is not mentioned but certainly it is not limited to three only.

The House of Alma is also an allegory of Plato's theory.

¹ Republic, Bk. IV.

The description of the siege of the castle contains much foreign element—of the twelve troops employed the seven stationed at the gate imply the seven deadly sins of the scholastics and the number of troops set against the five bulworks has been suggested by the five Senses. With all this mediæval imagery the underlying Platonic idea of struggle and discord is clearly discernible, though here the discord is represented as due to an external agency. Spenser says :—

“ What warre so cruel, or what siege so sore,
As that which strong affections doe apply
Against the forte of reason ever more
To bring the sowle into captivity ?”

(C. XI. I.)

Again,

“ Of all God’s workes which doe this worlde adorne,
There is no one more faire and excellent
Then is man’s body, both for powre and forme,
Whiles it is kept in sober government ;
But none then it more fowle and indecent,
Distempred through misrule and passions base.”

(C. IX. I.)

According to Plato’s theory, temperance precedes all virtues in man and courage does not exist apart from temperance. In Protagoras, the well-known sophist affirms that courage and wisdom are different, but Socrates has no difficulty in refuting him and proving that “those who are confident without knowledge are really not courageous but mad.” The same view is expressed in the Republic where Courage is shewed to depend on Temperance (which according to Plato would be wisdom). Spenser shares Plato’s view about the relation between Courage and Temperance (or Wisdom). Furor is not represented as courageous, though he is a violent fighter, because he has no

Courage in Plato is identical with Wisdom and Temperance and includes discretion as in Aristotle.

discernment of his opponent's strength and no skill ;—in other words he has not that Temperance which wisdom gives.

"And sure he was a man of mickle might,
Had he had governaunce it well to guyde ;

And oft himselfe he chaunst to hurt unwares,
 Whylest reason, *blent through passion*, nought descryde ;
 But as a blindfold Bull, at random fares,
 And where he hits nought knowes, and whom he hurts
 nought cares."

(C. IV.—VII.)

Pyrochles is described by his servant as a terrible and blood-thirsty soldier, and Atin asks Guyon to

"Drad for his derring doe and bloody deed ;
 For all in blood and spoile is his delight."

He commences his fight with Guyon in a violent manner but the skill of Guyon soon brings him down on his knees begging for his life. He is thus found out to be an abject coward. His brother Cymochles is intemperate in a different way. He is sensual but want of temperance or balance of mind makes him equally violent in battle. Both the brothers are defeated and killed by Arthur who in the Second Book represents the virtue of Temperance. The key-note to the characters of Furor, Pyrochles, and Cymochles is struck in the following passages from Plato :—"I suppose that you mean to exclude mere uninstructed courage such as that of a wild beast or of a slave—this, in your opinion, is not the courage which the law ordains, and ought to have another name." Socrates says, "He (Nicias) he appears to mean that courage is a sort of wisdom."¹ Nicias says, "I do not call animals or any other things courageous, which have no fear of dangers, because they are ignorant of

¹ Laches,

them, but fearless and senseless only.... Now I am of opinion that thoughtful courage is a quality possessed by very few, but that rashness and boldness and fearlessness, which has no forethought, are very common qualities possessed by many men."¹

The characters of the three sisters again shew how Aristotelian and Platonic theories are mixed up by Spenser. Most critics look upon them

The episode of the three sisters is based on the theories of both Aristotle and Plato—not on those of any one of them exclusively.—The husbands correspond to their wives in morals and temper.

exclusively as an illustration of the theory of the extremes and the mean, the eldest and youngest sisters representing excess and defect respectively, and Medina the mean. Similarly Hudibras the lover of the eldest and Sansloy

the lover of the youngest have been interpreted as standing for the two extremes and Guyen for the mean. But excess and defect imply a difference of degree, not of kind, and they mean excess and defect of the same attribute. Yet it is clear from the remarks of the poet himself that Elissa and Perissa stand for two distinct vices—one represents Anger and the other Sensuality.

" Elissa (so the eldest hight) did deeme
Such entertainment base, ne ought would eat,
Ne ought would speake, but evermore did seeme
As discontent for want of merth or meat ;
Ne solace could her paramour iutreat
Her once to shew, ne court, nor dalliaunce ;
But with bent lowring browes, as she would threat,
She scould, and frownd with froward countenance ;

.....

But young Perissa was of other mynd,
Full of disport, still laughing, loosely light,
And quite contrary to her sister's kynd ;
No measure in her mood, no rule of right,
But poured out *in pleasure and delight* :

¹ Laches.

In *wine and meats* she flowed above the banck,
 And in excesse exceeded her owne might ;
 In sumptuous tire she joyed herselfe to pranek,
 But of her *love too larish* : (little have she thanck ?)

Again,

“ Fast by ner side did sitt the bold Sansloy,
 Fitt mate for such a mincing mineon,
 Who in her *looseness tooke* exceeding joy.
 Might not be found a francker franion,
 Of her leawd parts to make companion : ”

(C. II. 35-37.)

Perissa is here described as “ quite contrary to her sisters kynd.” “ Wine and meats,” ‘ pleasure and delight ’ and “ excess ” and “ love ” are the elements in which she lives, moves and has her being. Her lover Sansloy takes part in her “ looseness ” and “ leawd parts.” This picture is surely fundamentally different from the previous one in which “ lowring browes ” ‘ scolding ’ and ‘ frowning ’ are so clearly marked. Besides this, we find Medina sitting between her two sisters and controlling them—a function ascribed to Reason in Plato and nowhere given to the Mean by Aristotle.

“ Betwixt them both the faire Medina sate
 With sober grace and goodly carriage :
 With equall measure she did moderate
 The strong extremities of their outrage.

.....

So kept she them in order, and herselfe in heed.”

(Bk. II. C. II. 38.)

It is beyond doubt that these sisters represent the tripartite Division of the Soul in Plato. Medina as Reason controls Appetite and Passion represented by the other two sisters, and so long as her control is effective there is peace and harmony in the house. When the control is wanting or is slackened the two sisters create disorder by inciting their lovers to fight.

The two knights Hudibras and Sansloy represent the same vices as their lady-loves; they do not symbolise excess and defect of the same vice.

“ He that made love unto the eldest Dame,
Was hight Sir Huddibras, an hardy man ;
Yet not so good of deedes as great of name,
Which he by many rash adventures wan,
Since errant armes to sew he first began :
More *huge in strength then wise in workes* he was,
And reason with foole-hardize overran ;

(C. II. 17.)

But he that lov'd the youngest was Sansloy ;
He, that faire Una late *fowle outraged*,
The most unruly and the boldest boy
That ever warlike weapons menaged,
And all to *lawlesse lust* encouraged.”

(II. 18.)

In Hudibras are to be noticed all the elements which Anger or Passion in Plato comprises. He has encountered many rash adventures but he is not really courageous, “not so good of deedes as great of name,” because courage depends on obedience to Reason while Hudibras’s reason is “With fool-hardize over ran.” Sansloy is introduced as the outrager of Una and he is “to lawlesse lust encouraged.” These two knights typifying Anger and Passion rush against Guyon when they see him and the discord is described exactly in the language of Plato

“ A triple war with triple enmity ”

(C. II. 26.)

Reason controls both Appetite and Passion when they rise up against it, and Guyon keeps at bay both these terrible warriors.

“ Wondrous great prowess and heroick worth
He shewed that day, and rare ensample made,
When *two so mighty warriorours* he dismade.”

(C. II. 25.)

The Platonic analysis of the soul into three distinct principles seems also to have suggested the relation in which the three characters Pyrochles, Cymochles and Arthur stand to one another. Pyrochles has already been shown to represent Passion or Anger according to the

Pyrochles, Cymochles and Arthur also symbolise Plato's tripartite division of the soul.

Platonic Psychology. Cymochles represents Appetite and his very first appearance in the poem shows his character

—Atin comes to summon him to his brother's help and finds him lying on a bed of lilies in the Bower of Bliss and dallying with a number of damsels. In order to rouse him to activity Atin has to prick him with his sharp-pointed dart,

“for he by kynd
Was given all to *lust and loose living*”

(C. V-28.)

He starts to give succour to his brother but on his way falls a victim to the charms of Phaedria. Arthur in the Second Book represents the same virtue as Guyon, *i.e.*, he is Reason according to Plato's analysis of the soul. Hence Arthur fights with both Pyrochles and Cymochles—Anger and Appetite, and both are killed by him.

The conception of Phaon's character is mainly Aristotelian. Phaon is a victim to angry passions but he feels remorse for his hasty actions. His vengeance seems just at first sight, and according to Aristotle the passionate man seems to follow Reason in a way.¹ Yet the influence of Plato's Ethics is not absent. Phaon is intemperate and Spenser lays special stress on the internal jar produced in him by his passions. The violence

Phaon's character is more Aristotelian than Platonic.

of this discord almost drives him mad and is figuratively represented by the

¹ Ethics, Bk. VII, Ch. VI. and Miss Winstanley on Aristotle and Spenser in her Edition of the Fairy Queen, Bk. II.

attacks of Furor and Occasion on him. Phaon thus describes his mental state:—

“ Betwixt them both they have me doen to dye,
Through wounds, and strokes, and stubborne handeling,
That death were better then *such agony*
As grieve and fury unto me did bring :”
(C. IV-33.)

The Palmer's reprimand to Phaon is a correct diagnosis of his disease and his analysis is strictly Platonic.

“ Most wretched man,
That to affections does the bridle lend !
In their beginning they are weake and wan,
But soone through suff'rance growe to fearefull end :
Whiles they are weake, betimes with them contend ;
For, when they once to perfect strength do grow,
Strong warres they make, and cruell battry bend
Gainst fort of Reason, it to overthrow : ”
(C. IV-34.)

The inwardness of Phaon's intemperance is further shown by the nature of his enemy Furor. He is not a material being who can be easily killed but represents the fury of the mind or passion which cannot be quelled without re-establishing harmony in the soul.

“ He is not, ah ! he is not such a foe,
As steele can wound, or strength can overthrow.”
(C. IV-10.)

Guyon's character is undoubtedly suggested by Aristotle but Plato's influence too is noticeable in it. Guyon is not only the Aristotelian mean, he represents also the Platonic harmony. He is the mean between the Foolhardiness of Pyrochles and the cowardice of Braggadochio. But his courage is the outcome of a temperate or balanced soul. Knowledge is an important element of courage according to Plato (and also

Guyon's character
also is based on Aris-
totle and on Plato
alike.

Aristotle), and Guyon's courage is not mere uninstructed courage like Pyrochles', but depends on skill. Guyon is Aristotelian in that he feels the temptation and yet resists it—this is his moral state in the cave of Mammon and in the island of Phaëdria. But Spenser also interprets his character in the manner of Plato as a harmony in the soul. The Redcrosse Knight recognising his enemy to be Guyon¹ says,

“For sith I know your *goodly governaunce*,
Great cause, I weene, you guided, or some uncouth chaunce.”

Here “goodly governaunce” means a balanced and temperate soul. The very first description of the bearing of the Knight of Temperance comprises these lines:

“His carriage was full comely and upright
His countenance demure and *temperate*.”

(C. I-6.)

It is difficult to trace the origin of such literary treatment of the Platonic analysis of the soul. It is doubtful whether Spenser is original in this respect, for Tasso's Jerusalem Delivered has been interpreted by Tasso himself as an allegory based on Plato's Psychology of the soul. This interpretation is embodied in a chapter entitled “Allegory of the poem,” which has been considered to have been a mere afterthought of the poet. But whatever it might be, it must have been appended to the poem itself in its later publications and Spenser must have read the poem in the light of this interpretation. It is not impossible that he should have been impressed with the Platonic interpretation of his poem by Tasso and regarded the Platonic theme as one eminently fit for poetic treatment by

Spenser's possible debt to Tasso in respect of the literary treatment of Plato's tripartite division of the soul.

¹ In Can. I, Bk. II 29.

himself. The following extract from the "Allegory of the poem" would show Tasso's manner of handling the Platonic Ethics and indicate its similarity to Spenser's in Bk. II of the *Faerie Queene*.—"Godfrey who of all the assembly is chosen chieftain stands for *understanding*And of Princes he is chosen captain of this enterprise, because understanding is of God; ...*Love* which maketh Tancredie and the other worthies to doat, and disjoin them from Godfrey, and the *disdain* which enticeth Rinaldo from the enterprise do signify conflict and *rebellion which the concupiscent and ireful powers do make with the Reason*...The ireful virtue is that which amongst all the other powers of the mind is less estranged from the nobility of the soul, in so much that Plato (doubting) seeketh whether it differeth from Reason or no." In Tasso, however, Platonic ideas are identified with Christian notions and both are often represented by the same personages. This is a device which has not been followed by Spenser in Bk. II, though something resembling it is to be noticed in Bk. I.

CHAPTER IV

CHASTITY

Chastity, the subject of the third Book of the Faerie Queene, is identified by some critics with the Aristotelian virtue of 'shame.'¹ It is regarded by some others as but another aspect of Temperance dealt with in Book II. Dean Church, for instance, says of Book III., "It is a repetition of the ideas of the latter part of Book II. with a heroine Britomart in place of the knight, Sir Guyon."² But chastity as expounded by Spenser is something different from Temperance. In Book II. we find two conceptions of Temperance, the Aristotelian and the Platonic. The Aristotelian conception is akin to the virtue of abstinence, the mean steering clear of the extremes of excess

Chastity in Bk. III of the Faerie Queene different from Temperance as dealt with in Bk. II. Noble love as described in the speech of Phaedrus in the Symposium furnishes its basic conception.

and defect of pleasure, especially the pleasure of touch. Thus it is a negative ideal based on prudential considerations. Platonic Temperance is a harmony in the soul—that state in which the different parts of the soul do their respective duties in implicit obedience to the dictates of Reason. No doubt Temperance itself is a great virtue, though Plato holds that this state of the soul is a preliminary condition of the growth of other virtues in it. Chastity constitutes a clear advance on both these conceptions, *viz.*, harmony in the soul and avoidance of the extremes in matters of pleasure. It is a positive conception and

¹ M. Phil., III. 376 and M. Phil., June, 1918, p. 36.

² 'Spenser' in the English Men of Letters Series.

is equivalent to noble love or spiritual love between man and woman. Love of Britomart and Artegall is the main theme of the third book. Dowden says, "There is no chastity, Spenser would assure us, so incapable of stain as the heroic love of a magnanimous woman."¹ It is based on Temperance because no noble love is possible in one whose soul is in tumult and is the battle-ground of conflicting elements; but, at the same time, it is something more than Temperance. The difference was apparent to Plato himself as is clear from Socrates' recantation after his first speech in the *Phaedrus*, praising the rigid austerity of the non-lover. In his second speech he puts the lover far above the non-lover and the madness or frenzy of love is applauded as far nobler than the calm of Temperance, because every great and good thing has at its root love and frenzy as its generating cause. The conception of chastity is also an advance on the Aristotelian idea of Temperance as being less squeamish and more idealistic and inspiring.

The noble ideal of Chastity as found in the Third Book of the *Faerie Queene* is a complex conception—a blend of Platonism, chivalric traditions and Christian ideas. The conception of spiritual love between soul and soul is from Plato, the application of this idea to the relation between man and woman is due to chivalry and the ideal of wedlock which is painted as the consummation of true love and which is the final reward of lovers like Britomart and Artegall, Florimell and Marinell (and also in the *Epithalamion*), is due to the teachings of the Christian Religion.

But other ideas, Christian as well as chivalric, have been combined with it in Spenser.

The Platonic idea of Love cannot be fully appreciated without some reference to the state of society in Athens in the days of Plato. In the Greek cities of those times

¹ Dowden, *Spenser as Poet and Teacher*.

love between youths was very common—probably it was a relic of more barbarous times. Jowett in his Introduction to the Symposium says, “It is impossible to deny that some of the best and greatest of the Greeks indulged in attachments, which Plato in the Laws, no less than the universal opinion of Christendom,¹ has stigmatised as unnatural.” For a youth to be without a lover was looked upon as strange and also objectionable.

Origin of Phaedrus' idea of love lay in the institution of Friendship in Early Greece.

The elder of the pair was called the lover and the younger the beloved or “listener.” In civilised Greece such connections were deliberately encouraged owing to considerations of military training. It was the duty of the lover to train up the beloved in feats of arms, and the lovers fought side by side, endangering their lives for the sake of their mother country. In the Symposium Plato himself refers to this in the speech of Pausanias. In some states such an attachment between youths was sanctioned by law while in others it was prohibited. Tyrants specially feared combinations of young men as tending to undermine their power by creating strong parties against them. Says Pausanias, “In Elis and Boeotia,...the universal sentiment is simply in favour of these connections and no one whether young or old has anything to say to their discredit....But in Ionia and other places, and generally in countries which are subject to the barbarians loves of youth share the evil repute of Philosophy and gymnastics because they are inimical to tyranny; for the interests of rulers require that their subjects should be poor in spirit and that there should be no strong bond of friendship or society among them.” The darker side of this love amongst youths was obvious to Plato and in Charmides and Lysis it is made sufficiently clear how physical charm was often the cause of the formation of

¹ Contemporary Review, Vol. LVIII, p. 412.

friendship. Plato tried to use this conception of love or friendship as a stepping-stone to the higher notion of love based on Virtue. He did not explain away the lower form of love—for the times were perhaps not yet ripe for such reformation, or probably, as Jowett says, “he is conscious that the highest and noblest things in the world are not easily severed from the sensual desires or may even be regarded as a spiritualised form of them.” He sees in the one the analogue or the reflection of the other and tries to explain how man may rise from the lower to the higher plane. He enunciates the higher love on the analogy of this vulgar love. The latter affords vulgar pleasure, the pleasure of the senses and the former, according to Plato, leads to spiritual bliss or the pleasures of the soul. In the former kind of love the beloved derives virtue and wisdom from the lover, leading to the permanent improvement of his inner nature. “Evil is the vulgar lover who loves the body rather than the soul and who is inconstant because he is a lover of the inconstant and therefore when the bloom of youth which he was desiring is over, he takes wings and flies away, inspite of all his words and promises; whereas the love of the noble mind, which is in union with the unchangeable, is ever-lasting.”¹ Plato explains what this ‘union with the unchangeable’ means. “These two customs, one the love of youth, and the other the practice of philosophy and virtue in general, ought to meet in one, and then the beloved may honourably indulge the lover. For when the lover and beloved come together, having each of them a law, and the lover on his part is ready to confer any favour that he rightly can on his gracious loving one, and the other is ready to yield any compliance that he rightly can to him who is to make him wise and good; the one capable of communicating wisdom and

¹ Symposium.

virtue, the other seeking after knowledge, and making his object education and wisdom; when the two laws of love are fulfilled and meet in one, then and then only, may the beloved yield with honour to the lover."¹

By an extension of this idea of virtuous love between man and man, Plato arrives at the conception of the love of Absolute Beauty in the Symposium and of True Being in the Phaedrus. This is the consummation of Love in

Plato in the Symposium sublimates this feeling of Friendship into an attraction for the Supreme Being or Reality.

Plato; here beauty is the same thing as Truth. Through perfect love or a vision of this True Being the soul is rarefied and rendered capable of ascending Heaven.

But souls that are blind to it and being incapable of true love are addicted to the things of this world, gradually grow gross. The figures seen hovering over graveyards are the souls of worldly-minded people, that are unable and unwilling to go up to Heaven, being still 'glued' to sensible objects.²

Now in all this discussion about true love or spiritual love not a word is said by Plato about man's relations with woman. From the context and from the repeated references to the youth, it is certain that Plato was not thinking of the true and noble love which man might feel for woman. Neither in the Symposium nor in the Phaedrus nor even in the Republic where this philosopher was making experiments in social reconstruction and political organisation, shrinking from nothing in his search for Justice and Temperance and Love—not even from the community of wives,—is there any definite suggestion about true love between man and woman. To Plato chaste love means friendship between man and man for purposes of education and moral elevation, and unchaste love means love between such parties based on physical attraction and

¹ Pausanias' speech in the Symposium.

² Phaedo.

reminiscent of unnatural vice. Mention is made of woman only with reference to vulgar love.

But woman is never thought of by Plato in connection with the inspiring influence of love.

Pausanias says, "The Love who is the son of the common Aphrodite is essentially common, and has no discrimination, being such as the meaner sort of men feel, and is apt to be of women as well as of youths, and is of the body rather than of the soul."¹ In connection with his doctrine of generation or birth in beauty Plato mentions woman once more. Diotima says, "Men whose bodies only are creative, betake themselves to women and beget children—this is the character of their love; their offspring, as they hope, will preserve their memory and give them the blessedness and immortality which they desire in the future. But creative souls...conceive that which is proper for the soul to conceive or retain. And what are these conceptions?—wisdom and virtue in general." It is thus to be seen that Plato brings in woman only where love of the body is concerned; but Plato's favourite theory is that connection with sense degrades the soul and renders it gross so as to impede its heavenward flight. Thus the leading philosopher of Greece and the apostle of spiritual love recognises woman's power for evil but not her immense power for the good of man.

Spenser's conception of chaste love or spiritual love is the same as Plato's; only, in Spenser this love exists between man and woman whereas in Plato it exists between man and man. In Bk. III. such love is depicted in the relations of Artegall and Britomart and, in a less degree, of Florimell and Marinell, Scudamore and Amoret. The substitution of woman in the place of man probably shows the influence of chivalry which considerably uplifted the

The glorification of woman's love in Spenser is due to the influence of Chivalry and of Christianity (not mediæval Christianity).

¹ Symposium.

position of woman in society. It was the influence of chivalry combined with the Ethics of Christianity that led Dante to body forth his ideal love in a lovely woman—Beatrice Portinari.¹

Spenser retains Plato's distinction between vulgar or sensual love and noble love in applying his ideas to the relations between man and woman. The one enjoys beauty through sense while the other enjoys the beauty of the spirit and of ideas. The legend of chastity as a whole is rather formless and lacks unity of plan and construction, but the loosely connected episodes are based on this distinction between the two kinds of love. The characters that apprehend only the beauty of the body are Malcesta, Argante the giantess, the witch's son, Proteus, the Mariner, Malbecco and Paridell. Britomart,

Analysis of the conception of love typified by Britomart.

Amoret and Florimell are attracted by the beauty of the spirit or the soul. The episodes all arise out of the contests between these two sets of characters. Florimell who loves Marinell falls in the power of beastly characters like Proteus, the Mariner and the witch's son and when she succeeds in escaping from the clutches of one, ill luck throws her into the power of another. Amoret, the chaste lady attached to Scudamore, is a victim to the enchantments of Busirane. On the distinction of the two forms of love figured forth in these two sets of characters Spenser says,

"Most sacred fyre, that burnest mightily
In living brests, ykindled first above

.....

Not that same, which doth base affections move
In brutish mindes, and filthy lust inflame,
But that sweete fit that doth true beantie love,
And choseth vertue for his dearest Dame."

(C. III. 1.)

¹ Contemporary Review, Vol. LVIII. p. 412. "The Dantesque and Platonic Ideals of Love."

Malcesta with all her beauty and refinement is a type of sensual desire and is held up by Spenser as a warning to chaste ladies.

“—she was given all to fleshly lust,
And poured forth in sensuall delight,”

.....
“—this was not to love, but lust, inclined ”

(C. I.-49)

Britomart is the type of chaste love in the third book, and Spenser has tried to make her character consistent with the theory that chaste love is attracted only by the beauty of the soul. Britomart falls in love with Artegall when she sees his reflection on the mirror. It may be objected here that what captivates Britomart is sensible beauty. Spenser has anticipated this objection and has therefore had recourse to the mirror, for the reflection on the mirror is certainly less material and less sensible than the personal beauty of Artegall would have been if he were to catch her sight. Again, what strikes Britomart in the reflection of the Knight on the mirror is his heroism and other attributes rather than his physical charms.

Her love is kindled
by the knightly virtues
of Artegall, not by his
physical charms.

“ Portly his person was, and much increast
Through his *Heroicke grace and honorable gest.*”

(C. II-24.)

It is the vision of some superior excellence that charms her heart. Hers is the desire of the moth for the star and she says in despair :—

“ Nor man it is, nor other living wight,
For then some hope I might unto me draw ;
But th’only shade and semblant of a Knight,
Whose shape or person yet I never saw.”

(C. II-38.)

The purity of this love becomes evident when compared with the passion of other princesses mentioned by Britomart's nurse, Glauce—the Arabian Myrrhe, Biblis and Pasiphaë. (C. II-41).

Chaste love in Spenser inspires in man noble aspirations—it leads him to strive for honour and distinction, and to spurn baseness and evil in every form. Here is it that it differs from Temperance which is a form of abstinence and hence a passive virtue. Chaste love is active and furnishes impulse to noble actions.

Her love is an inspiration to noble actions.

“—that sweete fit that doth true beautie love,
And choseth vertue for his dearest Dame,
Whence spring all noble deeds and never-dying fame :”

(C. III-1.)

Addressing Love as a God Spenser says :—

“ Well did Antiquity a God thee deeme,
That over mortall mindes hast so great might,
.....
And stirredst up *th' Heroes high intents*,
Which the late world admyres for wondrous moniments.”

(C. III-2.)

Again,—

“—love does alwaies *bring forth bounteous deeds*,
And in each gentle hart *desire of honor breeds*.”

(C. I-49.)

Along with kindling a desire of honour and fame, it drives away all vices of idleness and ungentleness :—

“—in brave sprite it kindles goodly fire,
That to all high desert and honour doth aspire.”

.....

" Ne suffereth it *uncomely idlenesse*
 In his free thought to build her sluggish nest,
 Ne suffereth it *thought of ungentlenesse*
 Ever to creepe into his noble brest;
 But to the highest and the worthiest
 Lifteth it up that els would lowly fall : "

(C. V-I-2.)

The speech of Phaedrus in the Symposium echoes the same sentiment and attributes the same inspiring power to noble love. "The principle which ought to be the guide of men who would nobly live—that principle, I say, neither kindred, nor honour, nor wealth nor any other motive is able to implant as surely as love. Of what am I speaking? Of the sense of honour and dishonour, without which neither states nor individuals ever do any good or great work. And I say that a lover who is detected in doing any dishonourable act, or submitting through cowardice when any dishonour is done to him by another, will be more pained at being detected by his beloved than at being seen by his father, or his companions, or any one else..... What lover would not choose rather to be seen by all mankind than by his beloved, either when abandoning his post or throwing away his arms? He would be ready to die a thousand deaths rather than endure this. Or who would desert his beloved or fail him in the hour of danger? The veriest coward would become an inspired hero, equal to the bravest, at such a time: Love would inspire him. That courage which, as Homer says, the God breathes into the soul of heroes, Love of himself infuses into the lover." In Spenser Britomart is a concrete illustration of this inspiring power of noble Love. She was a sweet little girl unaccustomed to the ways of the world and pent up in her father's castle. But she renounces seclusion, ease and comfort and passes through dangers and hardships

in her search for Artegall. Addressing the God of Love Spenser apostrophizes :—

“ Ne braver prooffe in any of thy powre
 Shewd'st thou, then in this royall Maid of yore,
 Making her seeke an unknowne Paramoure,
 From the world's end, *through many a bitter stowre* :”

(C. III-3.)

Spenser develops in his Hymns the theory of the Neo-Platonists as to the connection of soul and body, the formative energy of the soul and its influence on physical beauty. There he states in the manner of the Neo-Platonists that moral virtues beautify the body and moral vices make it ugly. In the third book he anticipates his conclusions in the hymns and associates ugliness with moral turpitude, especially with sensuality. All the characters that are unchaste in the Platonic sense, *i.e.*, enjoy only physical beauty, are ugly and horrible to look at. Such are the Mariner, the witch's son, Proteus and Argante. Beauty is the monopoly only of the chaste and the morally good—*e.g.*, Florimell,

Unchaste love associated, in the manner of Plato, with physical deformity and chaste love with physical beauty.

Amoret and Britomart. Characters that are inordinately unchaste and excessively intemperate suffer the utmost physical degradation and are transformed into beasts. This transformation signifies the

total extinction of the intellectual faculty. Plato says “ Men who have followed after gluttony and wantonness and drunkenness and have had no thought of avoiding them, would pass into asses and animals of that sort.” (Phaedo.) The beasts in the Bower of Bliss in Bk. II. are sensual men as shewn by their re-transformation by Guyon. Though this idea can be traced to Plato (and further to Homer) Tasso's Jerusalem Delivered is its immediate source. Those who are not excessively sensual are not subjected to the extreme penalty of transformation into

the likeness of beasts. Yet they undergo some physical and intellectual degradation. The witch's son and the forester who chases Florimell belong to this class. They have only a faint glimmering of reason and are exceedingly dull. Their appearance is uncouth and almost indistinguishable from that of beasts.

Spenser follows Plato in describing the effect of the beauty of chaste women on the beholder. Plato has tried to explain it through his highly fanciful figure of the winged soul. The charioteer drives the horses up the vault of Heaven and if they obey him the soul soars aloft easily and sees Beauty Absolute; otherwise the horses jostle and tread on each other and losing their wings sink down. When a beautiful object catches its sight on this earth, "the soul is warmed with sense, and is full of tickling and desire, the obedient steed then as always under the government of shame, refrains himself from leaping on the beloved, but the other instead of heeding the blows of the whip, prances away and gives all manner of trouble to his companion and to the charioteer, and urges them on toward the beloved and reminds them of the joys of love. They at first indignantly oppose him and will not be urged on to do terrible and unlawful deeds; but at last, when there is no end of evil, they yield and suffer themselves to be led on to do as he bids them. And now they are at the spot and behold the flashing beauty of the beloved. But when the charioteer sees that, his memory is carried to the true beauty, and beholds her in company with Modesty set in her holy place. And when he sees her he is afraid and falls back in *adoration*." (Phaedrus.)

Hence sight of beauty produces a feeling of reverence in the beholder.

This attitude of reverence towards chaste beauty is referred to in another place in the Phaedrus. Says Socrates, "He who has become corrupted is not easily carried

out of this world to the sight of absolute beauty in the other; he looks only at that which has the name of beauty in this world, and instead of being awed at the sight of her, like a brutish beast he rushes on to enjoy and beget But he whose initiation is recent, and who has been the spectator of many glories in the other world, is *amazed* when he sees any one having a God-like face or form, which is the expression or imitation of divine beauty; and at first a shudder runs through him, and some 'mis-giving' of a former world steals over him; then looking upon the face of his beloved as of a god he *reverences him*." (Phaedrus.) In Spenser Britomart is the type of chastity and her beauty is represented in several places as inspiring awe and adoration in the beholder. When in a fight with Artegall her helmet is destroyed, the Knight is taken aback at the sight of her amazing beauty. His arm is benumbed with fear and his sword drops to the ground,

"as if the steele had sence,
And felt some ruth or sence his hand did lacke,
Or both of them did thinke obedience
To doe to so divine a beauties excellence.
And he himselfe long gazing thereupon,
At last *fell humbly downe upon his knee*,
And of his wonder made religion,
Weening some heavenly goddesse he did see,

.....
Whilest trembling horror did his sense assavle,
And made ech member quake, and manly heart to quayle."

(Bk. IV. C. VI-21-22.)

On another occasion in the castle of Malbecco Britomart had to put off her warlike array, and her superb beauty lay open to the view of the assembled guests.

"—they all on her,
Stood gazing, as if suddein *great affright*
Had them surprizd.....

But seeing still the more desir'd to see,
And ever *firmely fixed did abide*
In contemplation of divinitee :"

(Bk. III. IX. 23, 24.)

But the beauty of Hellenore, the wife of Malbecco produces no such effect on the guests. The report of her beauty had travelled far and wide and that is why the assembled guests were anxious to have her in their midst. Her beauty had been the subject of conversation amongst the party just before she appeared. Yet she only

Hellenore's beauty produces no such effect as Britomart's beauty does.

"—shewd herself in all a gentle courteous Dame."

(C. IX-26.)

Such is the difference between the beauty of a chaste lady and the false glamour of a vicious woman.

Plato says it is only the virtuous man—he who had a vision of Absolute Beauty in Heaven—who appreciates chaste Beauty in this world and worships it. But Spenser goes further. Beauty has such a power that, according to Spenser, it is sure to extort reverence from any man, virtuous or vicious, and to strike him with awe. The son of the witch was a grossly sensual creature, yet when he first saw Florimell in his mother's cottage, he

"—thought her *to adore* with humble spright :
T' adore thing so divine as beauty were but right."

(Bk. III. C. VII-11.)

Similarly when the mariner awoke and saw Florimell on his boat, he was entranced and dazzled with the glorious vision of her beauty, though this feeling of wonder disappeared rapidly and the boorish fellow tried to insult her. But still the wonderful effect of Beauty was there, however transitory it might be.

“—when he saw that blazing beauties beame,
some extasye
Assotted had his sence, or dazed was his eye.”

(Bk. III. C. VIII-22.)

Sensual love has many aspects and leads to various consequences. One of its marks as mentioned by Plato is jealousy. The lover of physical beauty is afraid lest somebody else should snatch off from him the object of his enjoyment. Hence the ordinary lover is even unwilling to let a third person speak to his beloved and is jealous of every man who may approach his darling. But it is material object only that can be robbed or stolen and hence those who love virtue are free from this anxiety and this jealousy. Socrates says, “He who is the victim of his passions and the slave of pleasure will, of course, desire to make his beloved as agreeable to himself as possible.....And therefore he cannot help being jealous, and will debar him from the advantages of society which would make a man of him.....All men will see, and the lover above all men, that his own first wish is to deprive his beloved of his dearest and best and most sacred possessions, father, mother, kindred, friends, all whom he thinks may be hinderers or reprovers of their sweet converse.” (Phaedrus.) Spenser seems to have acted on these remarks in creating the characters of

According to Plato sensual love produces jealousy. This is illustrated in the story of Malbecco and Hellenore.

Malbecco and Hellenore. Malbecco shuts up his wife always in his castle and allows none to see her. He had to be urgently and repeatedly requested by Paridell and Britomart before he could be persuaded to allow Hellenore to appear before the guests and to dine with them. It is the extraordinary physical charms of his wife that made him so jealous and suspicious. Socrates, continuing the characterisation of such a lover, says, “The lover is not only mischievous to

his love, he is also extremely unpleasant to live with. Equals, as the proverb says, delight in equals; equality of years inclines them to the same pleasures, and similarity begets friendship, and yet you may have more than enough of this, and compulsion is always said to be grievous. Now the lover is not only unlike his beloved, *but he forces himself* upon him. For he is old and his love is young, and neither day nor night will he leave him if he can help; and necessity and the sting of desire drive him on, and allure him with the pleasure which he receives from seeing, hearing, touching, perceiving him.... But *what pleasure or consolation can the beloved be receiving all this time? Must he not feel the extremity of disgust when he looks at an old withered face?* ... moreover he is jealously guarded and watched against every thing and everybody."¹ Spenser's characterisation of the relation between Malbecco and his wife corresponds to this picture.

" But he is old, and withered like hay,
Unfit faire Ladies service to supply :
 The privie guilt whereof makes him alway
 Suspect her truth, and keepe continuall spy
 Upon her with his other blinked eye,
Ne suffreth he resort of living wight
Approch to her, ne keepe her company,
 But in close bowre her mewes from all mens sight,
 Depri v'd of kindly joy and naturall delight."

(C. IX-5.)

Spenser's ideal of chastity has been shewn to consist of noble love between man and woman, and Britomart is the type of this chastity. She is to be contrasted with another image of chastity, Belpheobe. The latter, too, loves spiritual beauty, the beauty of fair ideas and of the soul, but the beauty she loves is a dry abstraction

Britomart and Belpheobe — representing two different types of chastity.

¹ (Phaedrus.)

and not a concrete reality. Love of abstract virtue or pure morality leads up to the love of God gradually and this is Belpheobe's love. Spenser's tribute to her runs thus :—

“...this *faire virgin*, this Belpheobe *fayre* ;
To whom, in *perfect love and spotlesse fame*
Of chastitie, none living may *compayre* :”

The ideal of chastity and pure love set forth in these lines is distinctly mediæval. It makes light of worldly joy and happiness and aims at heavenly perfection. Belpheobe's chastity is too fine and too high for this world and seems to be almost a supermundane ideal, chaste ladies of this world possessing only a faint copy of this ethereal virtue just as earthly beauty is but a reflection of heavenly beauty. Spenser says :—

“Eternall God, in his almightie powre,
To make ensample of his heavenly grace,
In Paradise whylome did plant this flowre ;
Whence he it fetcht out of her native place,
And did in stocke of earthly flesh enrace,
That mortall men her glory should admyre.
In gentle Ladies breste and bounteous race
Of womankind it *fayrest flowre doth spyre*,
And beareth fruit of honour and all chast desyre.”

(C. V.-52.)

Britomart is a product of the spirit of the Renaissance which Spenser had imbibed in an abundant measure, and though Spenser's appreciation of the good points of mediævalism is beyond all doubt, his delineation of the two characters like Britomart and Belpheobe side by side shows clearly to which his sympathy leans—the spirit of the Middle Ages or the culture of the Renaissance.

CHAPTER V

FRIENDSHIP

Friendship in Spenser has no well-defined meaning. In the fourth book of the *Faerie Queene* it conveys different meanings in different places. Warren says,

Friendship means
many different things
in Spenser.

“Friendliness, unanimity, good-will, friendship and love in the spiritual sense —are all mingled in Spenser’s term “Friendship.”¹ The sources of the idea of friendship too are more than one, though Aristotle is drawn upon more largely than Plato.

Friendship was a peculiar institution in ancient Greece. This institution, however, was not confined to Greece alone. A profound conception of friendship is met with in the Literature of the ancient Hindus as also in that of the Sufis in Arabia. The origin of Hellenic Friendship

Plato examines the
idea of friendship in
Lysis. It means the
same thing as love
as defined in the Sym-
posium.

has already been discussed.² Whether friendship among the ancient Hindus and the Arabs had a similar origin is a question which needs investigation.

The refined Greek ideas on friendship are to be found in Plato and Aristotle. Plato’s dialogue on friendship³ is in a way a repetition of the speech of Diotima in the Symposium. The theme in the Symposium is love and her efforts aim at a serious solution of the problem. In Lysis the subject of enquiry is the same

¹ Warren’s Ed. of F.Q., Vol. IV.

² Chapter IV.

³ Lysis.

as in the Symposium, though it is called Friendship and not love. The Lysis however presents a tentative attempt at a definition of Friendship, and the way in which Socrates exposes the contradictions that arise in the course of the discussion shews the uncertainty of thought. At first Socrates suggests that friendship exists only where there is a reciprocation of sentiments, but the theory becomes untenable in view of the fact that children sometimes hate their loving parents. Then an attempt is made to define friendship as a feeling between two likes, but the bad are incapable of friendship as are those who are absolutely good. The conclusion is that those who are neither good nor bad are the friends of the good. This is exactly Diotima's conclusion (on love) in the Symposium. In Lysis, however, Plato goes on analysing the idea of love (or friendship) still further, and says that it is the congenial that is the object of love. This conclusion is reached through a maze of arguments difficult to follow. Whatever may be the conclusion, throughout the numerous arguments and the shifting grounds in the dialogues of Symposium and Lysis there runs the idea of the universal

In Plato desire for good is the essence of friendship.

connection of the good with Love. Whether love exists between good and good or between good and that which is neither bad nor good, the idea of the good and aspiration for it is always present in Plato's thoughts on friendship or love. And this is the idea which Aristotle seizes on as being eminently suggestive and illuminating, without following further Plato's abstruse arguments. In classifying friendship he assigns the first place to friendship between good people. In Spenser's Faerie Queene the Platonic idea of friendship or love of the good for each other is to be met with, but it is Plato as presented

This idea is found in Aristotle's Ethics also and therefore in Spenser true friendship exists between good and honest men only, e.g., Cambel and Triamond.

by Aristotle; in other words, it is the most general Platonic idea separated from Plato's arguments and his doubts as to its validity. Aristotle does not care to enquire whether it is the good or those who are neither good nor bad that are capable of friendship. Plato says, "People really mean, as I suppose, that the good are like one another and friends to one another, and that the bad, as is often said of them, are never at unity with one another or with themselves, but are passionate and restless, and that which is at variance and enmity with itself is not likely to be in union or harmony with any other thing."¹ Aristotle defines perfect friendship thus: "The perfect friendship or love is the friendship or love of people who are good and alike in virtue; for these people are alike in wishing each other's good, in so far as they are good, and they are good in themselves. But it is people who wish the good of their friends for their friends' sake that are in the truest sense friends, as their friendship is the consequence of their own character and is not an accident. Their friendship therefore continues as long as their virtue, and virtue is a permanent quality."²

Spenser's portrayal of Cambel and Triamond shows the trace of this Greek conception of Friendship. Their friendship is based on admiration of each other's noble character or virtue.

"For *virtue is the band* that bindeth harts most sure"

(Bk. IV. C. II-29).

Their friendship is also expressly described as

"—the band

Of noble minds derived from above

Which, being *knit with virtue* never will remove."

¹ Lysis.

² N. Ethics, Bk. VIII, Ch. IV.

Again, Spenser says,

“—*the band of virtuous mind,*
Me seemes, the gentle hart should most assured bind.”

(C. IX. I).

Of bad persons' capacity for friendship Aristotle has the same opinion as Plato. Aristotle also thinks that such people have not even self-love the extension of which leads to friendship. “Such people are at variance with themselves, and while desiring one set of things, wish for something else. They are, *e.g.*, incontinent people; they choose not what seems to themselves good, but what is pleasant, although it is injurious.” Following Plato and Aristotle Spenser says,

Spenser holds with Aristotle and Plato that bad people are incapable of friendship.

“—*in base mind* or friendship dwels nor enmity.”

(C. IV-11.)

and

“And friendship, which a faint affection breeds
Without regard of good, dyes like ill grounded seeds.”

(C. IV-I.)

Though Aristotle is at one with Plato in believing that no true friendship can exist between persons who are unable to perceive the beauty of noble character and virtue, yet as a practical man he has not ignored the combinations which bad people often form amongst themselves for seeking profit or pleasure. Accordingly he has put such combination of people who have no title to virtue in the second class of friendship (the first place having already been given to what he calls perfect friendship). This combination or friendship does not last long. Following Aristotle Spenser makes the friendship of Blandamour and Paridell depend on expectation of profit.

There are also many details into which Spenser follows Aristotle.

In the opening stanzas of Book IV. of the *Faerie Queene* is found another conception of Friendship which is solely derived from Plato and to which there is no parallel in Aristotle. Spenser uses the word "love" and not "friendship" in these stanzas and in reality they sing of noble love as mentioned in the speech of Phaedrus. This love is somewhat different from that aspiration for the Good or Beauty which is celebrated towards the end of the Symposium, though both have their origin in the love of moral and spiritual beauty. The love of the Good is love of an abstraction, while this noble love flowers and blossoms up round a concrete object, high-souled man or woman.

By friendship Spenser also means noble love as taught in the speech of Phaedrus in the Symposium.

"For it of honor and all vertue is
The roote, and brings forth glorious flowres of fame,
That crowne true lovers with immortall bliss,
The meed of them that love, and do not love amisse"

(Introduction to Bk. IV-2.)

Spenser celebrates this love as chastity in Bk. III of the *Faerie Queene*.¹

Spenser gives another meaning to friendship in the Canto on the temple of Venus. The characterisation of Discord (or Ate) in Canto I. of Book IV is also connected with this conception of friendship, for Discord only spoils the work done by Concord who represents this spirit of friendship which is equivalent to cosmogonic love. Creation is due to the implanting of this love or friendship in the elements which before creation were in a state of perpetual

Friendship also includes concord which means harmony in the primitive chaos, leading to the creation of the universe.

¹ *Vide* Chapter IV.

warfare known as the chaos. Concord is thus described in Canto X of Book IV :—

“By her the heaven is in his course contained,
And all the world in state unmoved stands,
As their Almighty maker first ordained,
And bound them with inviolable bands ;
Else would the waters overflow the lands,
And fire devoure the ayre, and hell them quight,
But that she holds them with her blessed hands.”

(C. X-35.)

Discord described in Canto I is just the opposite of Concord.

“For all her studie was and all her thought
How she might overthrow the things that Concord wrought.
.....
For all this worlds faire workmanship she tride
Unto his last confusion to bring,”

(C. I-29-30.)

The description of the harmony into which the primeval elements settled down with the creation of the world as love or friendship is very old in Greek Literature. It is found even in Empedocles. In the Symposium Eryximachus deals with the harmonious blending of different

This conception of love or friendship is met with in Empedocles and in the speech of Eryximachus in the Symposium.

humours in man's constitution, in the course of the seasons, etc., in order to show that the same principle of order and balance manifests itself in human body as well as in inanimate objects.

Everywhere the union of different elements leads to disorder or evil if it violates proportion and principle ; this is vulgar love as opposed to perfect love. “The good physician is one who is able to separate fair love from foul, or to convert one into the other ; and if he is a skilful practitioner, he knows how to eradicate and how to

implant love, whichever is required ; and he can reconcile the most hostile elements in the constitution, and make them friends. Now the most hostile are the most opposite, such as hot and cold, moist and dry, bitter and sweet, and the like. And my ancestor, Asclepius, knowing how to implant friendship and accord in these elements, was the creator of our art. The course of the season is also full of both principles ; and when, as I was saying, the elements of hot and cold, moist and dry, attain the harmonious love of one another and blend in temperance and harmony, they bring to men, animals, and vegetables, health and wealth, and do them no harm ; whereas the wantonness and overbearingness of the other love affecting the seasons is a great injurer and destroyer, and is the source of pestilence"¹ Spenser applies this idea of harmonious union of different elements in the human body and in the course of the seasons to the creation of the world and personifies the tendency to disorder inherent in the elements by Discord. In the Hymne in honour of Love Spenser develops this conception of creation exactly as in Canto X of Bk. IV, and the function of Concord is there assigned to Cupid, the son of Venus. Thus in this Hymne Spenser expressly says, in the manner of Empedocles, that love lies at the root of creation.

“ The earth, the ayre, the water, and the fyre,
Then gan to raunge themselves in huge array,
And with contrary forces to conspyre
Each against other by all meanes they may,
Threatning their owne confusion and decay :
Ayre hated earth, and water hated fyre,
Till Love relented their rebellious yre.

(H. L. st. 12.)

¹ Speech of Eryximachus.

CHAPTER VI

METAPHYSICS AND COSMOGONY

Spenser's borrowings from ancient Philosophy are seen in a nutshell in his picture of the Garden of Adonis in Book III, C. VI. Following his master Socrates, Plato had generally confined his speculations to Ethics but in

Spenser's Cosmogonic ideas are taken from the Timaeus.

the Timaeus he took up the enquiry of the physicists and metaphysicians of the Pre-Socratic Age. Fanciful as this production is, later generations have been attracted to it by the charm of Plato's literary skill and his consummate art. Spenser drew many of his notions on metaphysics from the Timaeus. Plato's doctrines, however, are often found in him as modified by Plotinus.

The term "Garden of Adonis" occurs in the Phaedrus where it means an earthen pot for the rapid and artificial growth of plants. Socrates asks Phaedrus, "Would a husbandman, who is a man of sense, take the seeds, which he values and which he wishes to bear fruit, and in sober seriousness plant them during the heat of summer, in some garden of Adonis, that he may rejoice when he sees them in eight days appearing in beauty? at least he would do so, if at all, only for the sake of amusement and pastime. But when he is in earnest he sows in fitting soil, and practises husbandry, and is satisfied if in eight months the seeds which he has sown arrive at perfection?" Spenser makes the garden into the birth-place of all created beings. "There is the first seminary of all

things that are born to live and die." Souls return there after their sojourn on the earth, and bodies of all kinds of animals are fashioned there out of gross matter. Spenser is indebted for this picture to Plato's account of creation in the *Timaeus*, and where he differs from Plato he follows Plotinus.

According to Plato God creates the world according to a Pattern out of the four elements of earth, water, fire and air. (Of these only two are the principal elements, the other two being the means of combining them.) Then he puts the soul into world. "The creator reflecting on the things which are by nature visible, found that no unintelligent creature taken as a whole was fairer than intelligent taken as a whole and that intelligence could not be present in anything which was devoid of soul. For which reason, when he was framing the Universe, he put intelligence in soul, and the soul in body, that he might be the creator of a work which was by nature fairest and best." The mortal bodies of men and of lower animals are created by lesser gods out of the same materials and in the same way and only the soul is furnished by God. In Spenser the material for creation is supplied by the chaos, the eternally deformed substance. Matter from the chaos puts on form and thus becomes body which is then united to the soul.

"An huge eternall chaos, which supplies
The substances of natures fruitfull progenyes.
All things from thence doe their first being fetch,
And borrow matter whereof they are made;
Which, *whenas forme and feature it does ketch,*
Becomes a body, and doth then invade
The state of life out of the griesly shade."

(Bk. III. C. VI. 36-37.)

The account of creation given in the first part of the *Timaeus* is a figment of Plato's imagination and highly

mythical in colouring. Later on in the same work Plato is more precise in his theories. Spenser derives little from this previous fanciful description and his differences from it are obvious. Firstly, Plato frames body out of the four elements without any accession of form, and then puts the soul into it, thereby making it intelligent. For accession of form into matter Plato probably substitutes

But Spenser differs from Plato in his conception of matter and of accession of form into it.

the workmanship of God according to the eternal Pattern—a highly poetic imagery. Again, Plato has not quite been able to rise above the idea of four elements as propounded by Empedocles and has no conception of matter as the substance underlying them all. Later on when Plato tries to be more precise and scientific, he reaches a hazy notion of matter as the origin of all physical objects but confuses this notion with the idea of space or extension. “The mother and receptacle of all created and visible and in any way sensible things, is not to be termed earth, or air, or fire, or water, or any of their compounds, or any of the elements from which these are derived, but is an invisible and formless being which receives all things and in some mysterious way partakes of the intelligible, and is most incomprehensible. In saying this we shall not be far wrong; as far, however, as we can attain to a knowledge of her from the previous considerations, we may truly say that fire is that part of her nature which from time to time is inflamed, and water that which is moistened, and that the mother substance becomes earth and air, in so far as she receives the impression of them.” This indescribable substance is variously called by Plato “mother of forms” and “receptacle and nurse of generation” and is regarded as intermediate between his intelligible Pattern and the created copy. It can be called not “this” or “that,” but only “such,” since it changes its

shape with the impress of the Pattern. Plato also speaks of the "mother of all created things" as "in some mysterious way partaking of the intelligible." This idea has some resemblance with the account of creation contained in the lines of Spenser quoted above. But for the clearer conception of matter and form and of accession of form into matter as found in these lines taken from Spenser's description of the Garden of Adonis, Spenser is indebted to Plotinus. Plato's conception of

Plotinus' notion of matter is more clear and scientific than that of Plato who confounds it with space. Spenser follows Plotinus here.

matter shakes off its haziness and uncertainty in Plotinus. The latter criticises the theory of the four elements, though he does not mention Plato. "Empedocles, however, who substitutes the elements for matter, has the corruption of them testifying against him."¹ He mentions and criticises Anaxagoras and describes matter as "one, continued and void of quality." "Matter is also incorporeal," for corporeality is inseparable from form, and is the product of the accession of form into gross matter. This notion of matter is an advance on Plato's conception which labours under the idea of four elements and ultimately resolves them into space.

Plato is fond of figures and symbols and loves to deliver his messages in allegories. His first theory of creation, as already seen, is highly fanciful. He next tries to be more scientific in thought and as a result succeeds in attaining to more philosophic conceptions of matter and form. No sooner has he done this than he clothes these dry abstractions in the flesh and blood of fancy. Form, matter (or space) and created body are allegorised by him into father, mother and child respectively. "For the present we have only to conceive of three natures: First,

¹ Plotinus "On Matter," tr. T. Taylor.

that which is in process of generation; secondly, that in which the generation takes place; and thirdly, that of which the thing generated is a resemblance. And we may liken the receiving principle to a mother and the source or spring to a father, and the intermediate nature to a child; and we may remark further, that if the model is to take every variety of form, then the matter in which the model is fashioned will not be duly prepared unless, it is formless, etc." Form is thus the "the father" or "the source or spring" of all created things. But form is derived from the eternal Pattern in accordance with which God created the world. Spenser links the conception of permanence of form or of the Pattern, the father of form, to the story of the immortality of Adonis, and Adonis is accordingly described as the father of all forms.¹

In the manner of Plato, form, matter or space and created body are allegorised by Spenser into father, mother and child respectively in the myth of Adonis.

"All be he subject to mortalitie,
Yet is eterne in mutabilitie,

.....
For him the Father of all formes they call:

Therefore needs mote he live, that living gives to all."*

(Bk. III. C. VI—47.)

The idea opposite to the one dealt with above, namely, that of the permanence of matter under all changes of form is also suggested in the *Timaeus*. Plato argues that water by condensation becomes stone and earth and the same element, when melted and dispersed, passes into vapour and air. Air, when inflamed, becomes fire and fire, when extinguished, becomes cloud and mist. He gives another illustration, *viz.*, that of figures of gold, —though their forms are changed, the metal remains the same. Plotinus also

Permanence of matter suggested in Plato and Plotinus is dealt with by Spenser in the *Faerie Queene* as well as in his *Cantos of Mutabilitie*.

¹ See Harrison's *Platonism in English Poetry*, pp. 215-216.

mentions Plato's illustration of the gold leaf and says, "There is not a perfect corruption of that which is changed; since if there was, there would be a certain essence which would be dissolved into nonentity. Nor, again, does that which is generated proceed into being from that which in every respect is not; but there is a mutation from one form into another." Spenser expresses the idea thus:—

"The substaunce is not chaungd nor altered,
But th' only forme and outward fashion;
For every substaunce is conditioned
To chaunge her hew, and sondry formes to don,
Meet for her temper and complexion:"

(Bk. III. C. VI.—38.)

Permanence amidst change is also the theme of the Cantos of Mutabilitie. Here, however, the cases both for change and permanence are put with equal force and logic, and the reader is reminded of the two opposing schools of Greek Philosophy which had fought so long over this problem. The spirits of Heraclitus and Parmenides seem to have come over Mutabilitie and Jove as they argued for "Flux" and "Being" respectively. Plato's realism was inconsistent with the Heracleitan flux, and the influence of Plato is to be seen in the judgment delivered by Dame Nature supporting Jove.

Besides the influence of Plato, there is the suggested influence of Giordano Bruno, the Italian Neo-Platonist, on the cantos of Mutabilitie. The reconciliation of the claims of change and permanence, the idea that through all change works a fixed and changeless law is from Bruno. Nature says:—

Idea of permanence
in the cantos of Mu-
tabilitie derived from
Bruno.

"I well consider all that ye have said,
And find that all things stedfastnesse do hate
And changed be; yet, being rightly wayd,
They are not changed from their first estate;

But by their change their being do dilate,
 And turning to themselves at length againe,
 Do worke their owne perfection so by fate :
Then over them Change doth not rule and raigne,
But they raigne over Change, and do their states maintaine."

(Bk. VII. C. VII.—58.)

This idea also finds expression in the following passage from *Gli Eroici Furori* of Bruno :—"Nature as a whole cannot suffer annihilation ; and thus at due times, *in fixed order, she comes to renew herself*, changing and altering all her parts ; and this, it is fitting, should come about with *fixity of succession*, every part taking place of all the other parts."¹

The manner in which the soul is united to the body in the Garden of Adonis is reminiscent of the account of creation in the *Timaeus*. According to Plato the body and the soul are created separately. The soul whether of the world or of man is created by God as is also the material world, while the body of man is created by the lesser gods. The soul is then put in the centre of the body. "And in the centre he (God) put the soul, which he diffused throughout body, making it also the exterior environment of it."² In Spenser the images are almost the same as in Plato. Shapes of creatures are arranged in rows in the Garden of Adonis and thousands of souls fly about, and old Genius unites the souls with the bodies before sending them out to the world.

Manner of the union of soul and body in Spenser is suggested by the *Timaeus*.

"Infinite shapes of creatures there are bred,
 And uncouth formes, which none yet ever knew :
 And every sort is in a sondry bed
 Sett by it selfe, and ranckt in comely rew ;

¹ G. Milton's *Modern Studies*—"Giordano Bruno in England."

² *Timaeus*.

Some fit for reasonable souls t' indew ;
 Some made for beasts, some made for birds to weare ; ”
 (Bk. III. C. VI. 35.)

Again,—

“ He letteth in, he letteth out to wend
 All that to come into the world desire :
 A thousand thousand naked babes attend
 About him day and night, which doe require
 That he *with fleshly weeds would them attire* ;
 Such as him list, such as eternall fate
 Ordained hath, he clothes with sinfull mire,
 And sendeth forth to live in mortall state
 Till they agayn returne backe by the hinder gate.”
 (Bk. III. C. VI. 32.)

Plato has tried to prove the immortality of the soul
 with various arguments in the Meno and the Phaedo.

Argument for the
 soul's immortality is
 the same in Spenser
 as in the Phaedo.

One argument in the Phaedo seems to
 be basis of the imagery which shadows
 forth the immortality of the soul in the
 garden of Adonis. Spenser represents
 the same souls as passing through a round of births,
 deaths and rest in this garden. Souls come into the
 world from the garden of Adonis and return there after
 their stay on the earth.

“—he clothes with sinfull mire,
 And sendeth forth to live in mortall state,
 Till they agayn returne backe by the hinder gate.

.....
 Some thousand yeaeres so doen they there remayne,
 And then of him are clad with other hew,
 Or sent into the chaungefull world agayne,
 Till thither they retourne where first they grew :
 So, like a wheele, arownd they ronne from old to new.”

(Bk. III. VI. 32, 33.)

Plato's argument embodies the same idea under a
 slightly altered form. It is out of the departed souls

that new souls are born in this world. Thus out of death comes life—otherwise, if souls were altogether annihilated the stock of life would gradually run short; in other words, the soul is immortal. “The ancient doctrine of which I have been speaking affirms that souls go from hence into the other world, and return hither, and are born from the dead. Now if this be true, and the living come from the dead, then our souls must be in the other world, for if not, how could they be born again? And this would be conclusive, if there were any real evidence that the living are only born from the dead.

.....
Are not all things which have opposites generated out of their opposites?...And I want to show that this holds universally of all opposites...

Is not death opposed to life? Yes. And are they generated one from the other? Yes. What is generated from life? Death. And what from death? I can only answer life.

My dear Cebes, if all things which partook of life were to die, and after they were dead remained in the form of death and did not come to life again, all would at last die and nothing would be alive.” (Phaedo).

Platonism Tinged with Neo-Platonism

CHAPTER VII

COMBINATION OF PLATONISM AND CALVINISM,— HOLINESS

In his letter to Raleigh Spenser says clearly that he derives the virtues of which his principal knights are the patrons from Aristotle. But in Aristotle's *Ethics* no mention is made of any virtue called Holiness. There have arisen consequently differences of opinion as to the source of Holiness—the virtue dealt with in the very first book of the *Faerie Queene*.

Not only is there no mention of Holiness in the *Nicomachean Ethics* but the description of the virtue as detailed in the allegory of Book I. does not correspond with anything in the characteristics given by Aristotle of the moral virtues mentioned and totalised by him. A writer in the *Modern Philology* has made an ingenious attempt to discover in Holiness the Aristotelian virtue of high-mindedness or magnanimity.¹ His arguments, which are not very convincing, should be examined in detail. He writes by way of protest against M. Jusserand² who, noting the want of correspondence in various points between Spenser's *Letter to Raleigh* and the *Faerie Queene*, holds that the poet's

Source of Holiness,
—Aristotle according
to the Letter to
Raleigh.

¹ June, 1918. p. 32.

² See *Modern Philology*, Vol. III. p. 373.

Aristotelian reminiscence must have become obscured

Jusserand points out that in Aristotle's scheme of virtues Holiness is not even mentioned.

when he wrote to Raleigh, and that the passages in the Letter which state that the virtues are derived from Aristotle are misleading.¹ Mr. De Moss, the critic of M. Jusserand in the *Modern Philology*, takes his stand on Spenser's Letter to Raleigh and relies on those passages in which the poet expressly says that he represents the virtues of Aristotle by his champion knights. He contends that it is inconceivable that a classical Scholar like Spenser should have referred to Aristotle without being sure whether the reference was true.² The passage he quotes in support of his argument is this:—"So in the person of Prince Arthure I sette forth magnificence in particular, which virtue, for that (according to Aristotle and the rest) it is the perfection of all the rest; and containeth in it them all, therefore in the whole course I mention the deedes of Arthure applyable to that virtue which I write of in that book. But of the XII. other virtues, I make XII. other knights the patrones, for the more variety of the history." Now this very passage is against the contention of Mr. De Moss. In Bk. II. Ch. VII. of Aristotle's *Ethics* mention is made of thirteen

Arguments supporting the Aristotelian origin examined and rejected.

virtues and it is generally admitted that Arthur stands for Magnanimity and not for Magnificence as, perhaps inadvertently, put by Spenser.³ "The twelve other knights" of Spenser's projected poem must according to the Letter stand for the twelve other virtues besides Magnanimity. It is thus clear that none of them is the type of magnificence (or magnanimity), since none of them can play the rôle assigned to Arthur. To symbolise

¹ *Modern Philology*, Vol. III. p. 376.

² *Ibid.*, June, 1918. p. 39.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. III. p. 382.

magnanimity which, according to Aristotle as well as¹ Spenser, is the perfection of all the other virtues by Arthur as well as by another minor knight (Mr. De Moss suggests Redcrosse) would not certainly be consistent with the pre-eminent position intended to be given to Arthur and would surely destroy the symmetry of the plan of the poem, according to which every book is to describe the adventure of a particular knight while all the books are to contain descriptions of Arthur's activities, since Arthur has to take part in the adventure of every knight as necessity for his help arises. Again, if both Arthur and Redcrosse typify the same virtue their activities and characterisation ought to be similar. "The high-minded man," says Aristotle, "is capable of conferring benefits but ashamed of receiving them, as in the one case he feels his superiority and in the other his inferiority."¹ The figure of the Redcrosse knight is not that of a warrior imagining himself to be superior to everybody else and destined to bring succour to others; his weakness is apparent in the guile practised on him by Duessa, in his defeat by Orgoglio, his correction in the House of Holiness and his rescue by Arthur. Mr. De Moss lays great stress on the incidents and adventures as bringing out the details of the virtues represented by the knights. But the enemy of Redcrosse is not Meanmindedness the opposite of Magnanimity, but a Dragon or Evil.

"And ever as he rode his heart did earne
To prove his puissance in battell brave

.....

Upon his foe, a Dragon horrible and sterne."

(F. Q. Bk. CI. 3)

His adventures comprise encounters against Error, Pride, and Sansfoy, and his succour and inspiration come from the House of Holiness.

¹ Ethics, Bk. IV, Ch. IV.

It would appear from the above that it is useless to search for the source of Holiness in Aristotle notwithstanding the express statement of the poet in his Letter. Holiness is akin to notions like sanctity and sacredness which are usually associated with rituals, and as Aristotle separated Religion, Politics and Morals, it is not surprising to miss Holiness in the list of his moral virtues. Plato had, however, brought to the study of Philosophy all the fervour of Religion and he had an all-embracing vision of the problems of human life—religious, moral and political. It is actually in Plato that we find the virtue of Holiness mentioned. Plato also discussed and elaborated the conception of this virtue though he did not give it the importance attached to it in the Faerie Queene. But Spenser's conception of Holiness owes much to the teaching of Christianity, and this will be dealt with later on.

Holiness is mentioned in the Phaedo, the Meno, the Euthyphro and also in the Protagoras. In the Euthyphro Holiness or Piety is sought to be connected with supermundane purity and is defined 'to be that part of justice which attends to the Gods, as there is the other part of Justice which attends to men.' In the Protagoras, however, emphasis is laid on the unity of virtue which ought to regulate man's life. This virtue is variously

Holiness traced to
Plato's Philosophy—
the Protagoras, the
Euthyphro,

called Justice, Temperance and Holiness. 'Is there or is there not some one quality in which all the citizens must be partakers, if there is to be a city at all?.....If there be any such quality and this quality or unity is not the art of the carpenter or the smith or the potter but Justice and Temperance and *Holiness*, and in a word, manly virtue—if this is the quality of which all men must be partakers, and which is the very condition of their learning or doing anything else.....'¹ Thus in

¹ Protagoras.

the Protagoras, Holiness is equivalent to the grand virtue of Justice discussed in the Republic and described as the climax of human perfection. This is different from Holiness as defined in the Euthyphro. Yet even in the Protagoras there appears a dim consciousness of the peculiar and sacrosanct nature of this virtue and its kinship to sanctity when, through a process of dialectic, justice is proved to be unholy. Spenser also reads this peculiar meaning into Holiness and there can be no doubt that Spenser's conception of this virtue is partially borrowed from these dialogues of Plato, especially the *Phaedo* and the *Phaedrus*, and more from the *Phaedo* than from the *Phaedrus*.¹ In both the *Phaedo* and the *Phaedrus*, Plato's transcendentalism reaches its highest flight. In both the underlying conception is that of a supreme Reality—Truth, Beauty or Good—to be perceived by the soul or the mind. The *Phaedrus* only describes this Reality—and the picture given is so vivid and inspiring

that it seems as if the author were
the *Phaedrus* actually looking on some glorious

vision. The winged unbodied souls soar aloft to have a glimpse of the Eternal glory but they hardly succeed and, being tainted with sense, most of them sink into the gulf below. The *Phaedrus* goes thus far and no farther. It does not discuss at any length the qualities necessary for perceiving Truth or Beauty nor does it indicate what sort of purification the soul should undergo so as to be fit to perceive this supreme Reality. The words used to paint the impurity caused to the soul by sense do not call up associations usually connected with Holiness or with Sin. It is from the *Phaedrus* that Spenser takes the vision of Truth as the ultimate reward of human effort, but it is from the *Phaedo* that

¹ Miss Winstansley, in her Introduction to Book I. of *Fairie Queene*, traces Spenser's idea to the *Phaedrus*.

he takes the ideal of purity which entitles a man to this felicity.

Like the Phaëdrus the Phaëdo, too, insists repeatedly on the purity of Truth or Wisdom and its freedom from the taint of matter, and reiterates more than once that it is mind and not sense that can rightly appreciate this divine reality. Impressions that come through sense are wrong and misleading. But the soul has not always the fine faculty to which alone the vision of Truth lies open. When it is "glued" with matter or when it works through a material medium, it gets distorted ideas of Truth.

"When does the soul attain truth?—for in attempting to consider any thing in company with the body she is obviously deceived.

"Yes, that is true.

"Then must not existence be revealed to her in thought if at all? Yes.

"Is there or is there not an absolute Justice?

"Assuredly there is.

"And absolute beauty and absolute good? Of course. But did you ever behold any of them with your eyes? Certainly not.

Is not the nearest approach to the knowledge of their several natures made by him who so orders his intellectual vision as to have the most exact conception of the essence of that which he considers? Certainly."

Again, the soul that values sensible truth alone degenerates and is rendered gross till it can no more perceive truth in its purity. Such a soul retains its frailty even when separated from the body by death. "The

and the Phaëdo which defines Holiness and also prescribes means for its attainment.

soul which has been polluted...until she is led to believe that the truth only exists in a bodily form which a man may touch and see and taste and use for the purposes of his lusts—the soul, I mean, accustomed

to hate and fear and avoid the intellectual principle which to the bodily eye is dark and invisible and can be attained by Philosophy—do you suppose that such a soul as this will depart pure and unalloyed ?”¹ That state of the soul in which it is fit for its proper function is its purity. Freedom from the contact of sense constitutes purity in the opinion of Plato. Plato’s idea of purity is not that of a Philosopher busy with his analysis and his processes of elimination but that of a devotee preparing to enter a temple to say his prayers. “In this present life, I reckon that we make the nearest approach to knowledge when we have the least possible concern or interest in the body, and are not saturated with the bodily nature, but remain pure until the hour when God himself is pleased to release us. And then *the foolishness of the body will be cleared away* and we shall be pure and hold conversation with other pure souls and know of ourselves *the clear light everywhere; and this is surely the light of truth.*”¹ For no impure thing is allowed to approach the true.”¹ In Spenser this state of purity is described as Holiness, and Truth or the Supreme Reality or Wisdom is symbolised by Una. The Redcrosse Knight gains a vision of the heavenly beauty of Una when he attains to a state of absolute purity or Holiness.

The means of attaining to purity or Holiness as a state of the soul is dealt on at length in the *Phaedo*. It is called Purgation and consists in removing the soul’s connections with sense, its tendency to sense-perception and its enjoyment of images of beauty. The soul is thus made more and more intelligent. In the language of Plato the soul has “*to be gathered up and collected into herself.*” “The lovers of knowledge are conscious that

The means is called
Purgation in the
Phaedo.

¹ *Phaedo*.

their souls, when Philosophy receives them, are simply fastened and glued to their bodies : the soul is only able to view existence through the bars of a prison, and not in her own nature ; she is wallowing in the mire of all ignorance ; and Philosophy, seeing the terrible nature of her confinement, and that the *captive* through desire is led to conspire in her own captivity (for the lovers of knowledge are aware that this was the original state of the soul, and that when she was in this state, Philosophy received and gently counselled her, and wanted to release her, pointing out to her that the eye is full of deceit, and also the ear and the other senses and, persuading her to retire from them in all but the necessary use of them, and to be *gathered up and collected into herself*, and to trust only to herself and her own intuitions to absolute existence, and mistrust that which comes to her through others and is subject to vicissitude)—Philosophy shows her that this is visible and tangible, but that what she sees in her own nature is intellectual and invisible.”¹ The process suggested in these passages is what in ordinary language would be called intellection or generalisation. Ordinary knowledge is derived from sense-perception but higher knowledge or Truth, such as is conceived here, can be reached only through the efforts of the mind. The necessity for concentration of the mind and the exercise of its powers as a means of attaining self-realisation is insisted on most strongly in Neo-Platonism. Plotinus classifies virtues as political, cathartic and theoretic,² and he defines cathartic virtues as those that pertain to the intellect only, withdrawing it from other things, chiefly from the instruments of sense. He even asserts that these virtues lead to holiness and prepare man for union with God (*i.e.*, Truth). His imagery is the same as Spenser’s,—

¹ Phaedo.

² Plotinus on the Virtues, *Enneads* II, ii

i.e., strikingly Christian. "Since evils are here, and revolve from necessity about this terrestrial place, but the soul wishes to fly from evils, it is requisite to fly from hence. What therefore is the flight? To become similar, says Plato, to God. But this will be effected, if we *become just and holy*, in conjunction with *intellectual prudence* and in short if we are truly virtuous."¹ As for the means of such concentration, Plotinus says, closely following Plato, "What machine shall we employ, or what reason consult by means of which we may contemplate this ineffable beauty; a beauty abiding in the most divine sanctuary without ever proceeding from its sacred retreats lest it should be beheld by the profane and vulgar eye?" "We must enter deep into ourselves, and leaving behind the objects of corporeal sight, no longer look back after any of the accustomed spectacles of sense. For it is necessary that whoever beholds this beauty, should withdraw his view from the fairest corporeal forms." "On the contrary, neglecting all these as unequal to the task, and excluding them entirely from our view, having now closed the corporeal eye, we must stir up and assume a purer eye within, which all men possess, but which is alone used by a few."² The exercise of pure intellect is thus the way to the realisation of truth, and the Redcrosse Knight sees the beautiful face of Una with her veil removed only after he has finished his training or purgation on the Mount of Contemplation.

Una symbolises the Supreme Reality of Plato's and Plotinus' Philosophy, sometimes called Truth or Wisdom. (in the Phaedrus).

Though the political and historical significance of Book I. of the *Faerie Queene* is plain and apparent, there is ample evidence to show that this is the moral and philosophic import of the allegory. That Una represents Truth or Wisdom, the object of purely intellectual activity, is explicitly stated by

¹ Plotinus on the Virtues.

² Plotinus—Essay on the Beautiful.

Spenser himself in several places. The stanzas introducing Cantos II and III of Bk. I run thus:—

“The guilefull great Euchaunter parts
The Rederosse Knight from Truth :
Into whose stead faire falshood steps
And workes him woefull ruth.

.....
Forsaken Truth long seekes her love,
And makes the Lion mylde,” etc.

Truth is the enemy of error and it is Una who warns the Knight against the dangerous cave of Error.—She says:—

“—the *perill of this place*
I better wot then you : though nowe too late
To wish you backe returne with foule disgrace,
Yet wisdome warnes, whilest foot is in the gate,
To stay the steppe,”

(Bk. I. Ch. I.—13.)

Una is also contrasted with Duessa who stands for falsehood. Una's wisdom is seen in the skill with which she guides Redcrosse throughout the journey. Danger always finds her at his side planning his rescue, and when the Knight is defeated and imprisoned by Orgoglio, Una effects his rescue through Arthur.

“Ay me ! how many perils doe enfold
The righteous man, to make him daily fall,
Were not that heavenly grace doth him uphold,
And stedfast *truth* acquite him out of all.”

(C. VIII.—I.)

Again, when Redcrosse is bent on committing suicide at the instigation of Despair, it is Una's argument that convinces him of his error of judgment. Here also Una is the spirit of Wisdom. Redcrosse falls in danger just when he is deprived of the guidance of Una or Wisdom. The guiles of Duessa overwhelm him only when Una

is not ready at his side with her advice and warning.
In Canto VI her wisdom brings the satyrs and the fauns of
the forest to her subjection and

“her gentle wit she plyes
To teach them truth,”

(C. VI.—19.)

The Spirit of wisdom as she is, her gift to them is Truth.

Truth is characterised by permanence, stability and unity. These are the marks of the beauty of Una. The very name of Una (*i.e.*, one) signifies her character—her unchangeableness and her simplicity. The shifting changes in sensible objects betoken their ephemeral character. Hence Duessa now takes one form and now another. Though she appears beautiful at first, she turns out to be an ugly hag when she is punished by King Arthur.

“Which when the knights beheld amazz they were,
And wondred at so fowle deformed wight.

“Such then,” (said Una,) “as she seemeth here,
Such is the face of falshood: such the sight
Of fowle Duessa, when her borrowed light
Is laid away, and counterfesaunce knowne.”

(Canto VIII.—49.)

In Plato Wisdom is wonderfully beautiful. It is the climax of beauty to which sensible beauty and the beauty of the sciences are mere steps of ascent. It is again the Beauty of which the beautiful objects of the earth are but copies. This is the teaching of the Symposium, the Phaedrus and the Republic.¹ But this beauty of Truth is not visible to the naked eye. The mind only can realise it after it has been purged and purified in the way mentioned

and sometimes called Beauty (in the Phaedrus). Characteristics of Una's beauty indicate that she stands for the most abstract entity.

¹ Bk. VII.

above. "Of beauty, I repeat again that we saw her there (*i.e.*, in Heaven) shining in company with the celestial forms; and coming to earth we find her here, too, shining in clearness through the clearest aperture of sense. For sight is the keenest of our bodily senses; though not by that is wisdom seen, for her loveliness would have been transporting if there had been a visible image of her, and this is true of the loveliness of other ideas as well."¹ In Spenser Una is supremely beautiful, yet her beauty is not described as an object of visual perception. In fact there is a veil covering her face which is hidden altogether from the Redcrosse Knight. In order to suggest that she possesses wonderful beauty, the poet only refers to the admiration which the forest creatures feel on having a glimpse of her lovely face when the veil is snatched away by Sansloy. Drawn to her presence by her cry for help

"All stand astonied at her beautie bright,"

(C. VI. 9.)

"They, in compassion of her tender youth,

And wonder of her beautie soverayne

Are wonne with pittie and unwonted ruth;

And, all prostrate upon the lowly playne,

Doe kisse her feete, and fawne on her

with count'nance fayne."

(C. VI. 12.)

Sylvanus himself had not seen such beauty.

"And old Sylvanus selfe bethinkes not what

To thinke of wight so fayre, but gazing stood

In doubt to deeme her borne or earthly brood :"

(C. VI. 16.)

The nymphs of the forest are ashamed of their own vaunted beauty when they see Una.

¹ Phaedrus.

"—when they vewed have her heavenly grace,
 They envy her in their malicious mind,
 And fly away for feare of fowle disgrace."

(C. VI-18.)

It is noticeable that the poet does not speak one word about the physical charms of Una ; yet Spenser can, if necessary, give the most detailed description of the graces of a woman. He describes Britomart in this way in Bk. IV and his own love in the Epithalamion. But the Beauty of Truth or Wisdom is Beauty Absolute, and to use ordinary imagery with reference to it would be to circumscribe it and give a wrong impression of it. It is impossible to express in language what transcends thought and idea. Hence Spenser only vaguely hints at the brightness of Una's Beauty and refrains from giving details.

The Redcrosse Knight does not see this Beauty before the day of his marriage with Una, *i.e.*, before his purgation is complete. It has already been mentioned that the vision of Truth is the supreme reward of Intellectual training, 'the gathering of the soul within itself.' But the strong Calvinism of Spenser is not satisfied with this one form of purgation only ; he therefore subjects the Knight to purification in the mediæval Christian form, consisting of Penance, Remorse and Mortification of the flesh in the House of Holiness. The Knight is put in a dark dungeon, dressed "in sack-cloth and ashes" and made to fast. Corrosives are applied and superfluous rotten flesh is torn off with pincers (C. X.) Though two distinct forms of discipline are undergone by the Knight, Spenser pays more attention to the ascetic form which

Purgation undergone
 by Redcrosse before
 realising the Supreme
 Entity is Hellenic as
 well as Christian.

is described at great length, and it seems as if it is the only method used to purify the Redcrosse Knight. But in Spenser Hellenic culture triumphs over Christian asceticism ; he does not believe that mere asceticism

or mortification of the flesh can bring salvation to man without intellectual training. Hence the vision of the Heavenly Jerusalem is not revealed to the Knight until his schooling in the House of Holiness is supplemented by intellectual training symbolised by his ascent on the Mount of contemplation. The Holy man on the Mount represents intellectual culture and not asceticism though some ascetic and Christian colouring is still discernible in him.

“All were his earthly eien both blunt and bad,
And through great age had lost their kindly sight,
Yet wonderous quick and persaunt was his spright—”

(C. X-47.)

There is another illustration how Spenser prefers the Greek symbol of the attainment of perfection to the Christian. The Heavenly Jerusalem means the same thing in Christian Theology as Truth or Wisdom does in Greek Philosophy. The vision of the Heavenly City and the vision of the beauty of Truth stand for the same thing, *viz.*, the realisation of the Supreme Principle of existence. This is not merely a fancied parallelism, but as a matter of fact the Greek idea was changed into this Christian form by Christian sages with the growth of their religion.¹ Journey to Heavenly Jerusalem forms the basis of many poems and works of art. “Le Pèlerinage de vie

humaine” and Bunyan’s *Pilgrim’s Progress* are familiar examples. In the first book of the *Faerie Queene* the Knight has a vision of Heavenly Jerusalem as a result of the two fold purification he undergoes—mortification of

The reward for the purgation too is represented in Hellenic as well as in Christian imagery—marriage with Una and vision of the Holy City.

the flesh and contemplation or the abstraction of the soul from the world into itself. But even this Christian

¹ Encyclopædia Britannica—Article on Christianity.

imagery does not adequately represent the final result of the soul's strifes in the Faerie Queene and Spenser is not satisfied with this form of reward of Redcrosse. Plato and Plotinus had conceived of Truth as Beauty and as an object of Love. The identity of Truth and Beauty has been figured in Una who is consequently an object of love as well. As the supreme reward of intellectual life is not simply an apprehension of Truth but also love of Wisdom, Redcrosse comes down from the Mount of Contemplation and is united to her in wedlock. The veil is removed from her face and the unspeakable effulgence of her beauty flashes upon the knight.

The union of Una and Redcrosse, as painted by Spenser, indicates the influence of Neo-Platonism on the poet, and this is why Holiness in Spenser cannot be regarded as a purely Platonic conception, as has been held by Miss Winstansley and Dr. Harrison.¹ The Neo-Platonist recognises a mode of communion more direct and more

Influence of Neo-Platonism — Realisation is figured as vision and union.

intimate than perception or even intellection. In other words, he believes in intuition as a more advanced mode of apprehending Truth. In Plato as well as in Plotinus this is described as *vision*. Again as Truth is altogether unlike the impressions of sense or even the product of intellection, the Neo-Platonist believes that a vision of Truth is not possible for man unless his soul passes through a complete process of purgation as described above and *resembles the spirit* of Truth. When after purgation two similar things come together, *viz.*, the beholder and the object of vision, there is *not comprehension simply but union*. Spenser notes both these aspects of Neo-Platonism. The beauty of Una is revealed to Redcrosse as a glorious vision when her veil is removed.

¹ Platonism in English Poetry, Ch. I. 1.

"The blazing brightness of her beauties beame,
And glorious light of her sunshyny face,
To tell were as to strive against the streame :"

(C. XII. 23.)

The other Neo-Platonic idea, *viz.*, that of two becoming one, is figured in their marriage—the Holy *union* of wedlock as it is generally called.

Whatever might be the contribution of Plato to the conception of Holiness, this virtue is more akin to Christian thought and its conception was elaborated by the Christian Church. The mediæval theology gave to it a

Contribution of
Christianity to Spenser's
conception of
Holiness—Calvin's
Institutes of Christian
Religion.

pre-eminence which no other virtue enjoyed and it insisted on mortification of the flesh, penance and abstinence of all sorts as the means of attaining to it.

Spenser was not blind to the good points of the mediæval Church or its theology and it is this mediæval conception of holiness which he illustrates in the austere discipline taught in the House of Holiness. But the austerities, though not the excesses, associated with mediæval practice of Holiness were not uncongenial to the spirit of Calvinism. The 'Institutes' looks upon this virtue as of prime importance in man's life and as the very first condition of his fitness for communion with the Deity. "When mention is made of our union with God, let us remember that holiness must be the bond."¹ Again, "the Scripture system aims chiefly at two objects—the former is that the love of righteousness to which we are by no means naturally inclined, may be instilled and implanted into our minds. The latter is to prescribe a rule which will prevent us while in the pursuit of righteousness from going astray.....With what better foundation can it begin than by reminding us that we

¹ Calvin's Institutes of Christian Religion.

must be holy, because God is holy."¹ It was owing to his strong Calvinism that Spenser dealt with Holiness in the very first book of the *Faerie Queene* and thus gave emphasis and pre-eminence to a virtue which was not even mentioned by Aristotle and, though discussed by Plato, was not elaborated by him in its manifold aspects, being regarded by him more or less as an intellectual attribute.

In order to estimate accurately how far Spenser is indebted to Plato and to Plotinus for his conception of Holiness and Purification, it is necessary to have recourse to a process of elimination and to examine how much of it can be accounted for as due to the direct influence of

Spenser owes his conception of Holiness and Purgation not only to Plato and Plotinus, but also to his predecessors, De Guilleville and Hawes. For a correct appreciation of the subject it is necessary to allocate his debts.

the poet's predecessors in the school of Allegory, who had no access to Plato. Like every other poet Spenser learnt much of his art from his masters and their influence can be traced clearly in his imagery, outlook, and *motifs*. The seven Deadly Sins in Bk. I. remind one of Langland, Gower and Chaucer. The pictures of Amor on the arras in Bk. III. (in the House of Busirane) and the lovers' complaint to Venus in the temple of Venus are based on Lydgate's devices.² Purgation and purification as preparatory to a state of spiritual elevation was also used as a *motif* in poetry before Spenser. We have to distinguish it from the Platonic idea of purification and to see in what proportion this older poetic *motif* has mingled with Platonic and Neo-Platonic conceptions in the *Faerie Queene*.

Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* is well-known as an allegory of human life in its attempt to attain beatitude through struggle and temptation. The end has to be achieved through a process of purification there. Critics

¹ Journal of English and Germanic Philology, Vol. XIII.

² See the Temple of Glass.

in their search for the source of this allegory have come upon De Guilleville's *Pèlerinage de vie humaine*, written about the middle of the 14th century. Lydgate published an English translation of this work in 1426. This well-known book must have been accessible to Spenser and may have suggested to Spenser the poetic treatment of human life as a continuous march towards the ideal and a continuous purification of the inner self. In the *Pèlerinage* the author describes his dream-journey to Jerusalem under the guidance of Grace Dieu. He had previously a momentary vision of the walls of the Holy city and had seen doctors like St. Benedict and St. Francis advising pilgrims how to enter it (l. 568, 582). This had encouraged him to undertake the journey. Grace Dieu tells him that he is clean only outwardly but is soiled with original sin, and appoints a man to bathe and cleanse him. This sounds exactly like Calvinism as set forth in the stanzas describing the purgation of Redcrosse in the House of Holiness. There is quite an abundance of the feeling of hatred of the flesh whose mortification in the mediæval fashion is so unhesitatingly recommended. Enemies of spiritual culture like Idleness, Cowardice, Avarice and Prodigality confront the pilgrim who puts on an armour which is almost exactly identical with St. Paul's armour put on by Redcrosse, in order to defend himself against them. The helmet of Salvation is there, but the Sword of Righteousness replaces St. Paul's breastplate of righteousness. The pilgrim has many adventures, is surrounded by enchantresses on an island and is rescued by Grace Dieu who makes him take a bath in a cistern called Penance. The final stage of his purification comes off in the castle of Cystews. Here he meets the porter "Dread of God," Charity and Lady Lesson who bear considerable resemblance to Humilita, Mercie and Charissa in the House of Holiness. The

teaching of Lady Lesson is to the pilgrim what Charissa's teaching is to Redcrosse. The pilgrim, however, does not reach the end of his journey. He sees the wicket of the Heavenly City but before he can reach it, he is rendered decrepit by Infirmary, old Age and Sickness and is carried away by Death.

The work is very crude and cannot obviously compare with the artistic production of Spenser. It was evidently meant to be a handbook of religious instruction and hence it is full of moralisings and sermons. The theological speeches add to the length of the book as well as to its utter formlessness. But beneath all this loose, floating and shapeless mass there runs the undercurrent of the idea of purgation, and it is this, together with the goal of final purification (*viz.*, entrance into Jerusalem) to which it points, that gives some kind of unity to these 25,000 lines of archaic poetry. It is this idea that links it with the first book of Spenser's poem; for, apart from the fact that the killing of the Dragon by Redcrosse and his union with Una allegorise this idea of reaching moral perfection through purification, the vision of the Heavenly Jerusalem from the Mount of contemplation is also to be regarded as the happy result of purification undergone by Redcrosse in the House of Holiness (though it is also the effect of training on the Mount). But De Guilleville's differences with Spenser are many. The most obvious difference is that the Faerie Queene is a romance of chivalry and the Pèlerinage like the Pilgrim's Progress is a religious allegory. What is more pertinent

De Guilleville deals with the ascetic (and Christian) aspect of purification.

to the present enquiry is that the Pèlerinage deals with the ascetic aspect of purification; it has got nothing to do with intellectual culture, "the gathering up of the soul into itself," as Plato and Plotinus would say. Spenser is indebted to this poem for his

literary treatment of the mediæval and ascetic idea of purgation. The teaching of the Pèlerinage is that it is by mortification of the flesh that the soul acquires the capacity of entering the Heavenly Jerusalem. This is also the kind of lesson inculcated in the House of Holiness. Yet Spenser's Platonism and mysticism create a difference even here. Spenser conceives the final goal as vision of the Heavenly city while the Pilgrim's aim is to enter it. The meaning of Spenser's allegory is that penance is a means of realising inward bliss while the Pèlerinage teaches that asceticism actually transplants the pilgrim's soul to high Heaven.

It has been mentioned that in Spenser two forms of purification have been blended together—the mediæval and the classical. The mediæval form of purification can be traced to De Guilleville as has just been seen, but for the other form Spenser cannot be said to have been actually indebted to any of his predecessors, though some faint suggestion of it may have come from Stephen Hawes whose Pastime of Pleasure had an enormous influence on the Faerie Queene. Mrs. Browning¹ says that the Pastime of Pleasure is one of 'the four columnar marbles on whose foundation is exalted into light the great allegorical poem of the world, Spenser's Faerie Queene.' (The three other columns being Piers Plowman, the Temple of Glass and the House of Fame.) On the other hand, Professor Saintsbury suggests that Hawes exercised very little influence on Spenser's Allegory. Whatever may be the nature and extent of Hawes' influence on Spenser's allegorical method generally, it is not difficult to see how far Spenser was indebted to Hawes for this *motif* of purification in the first Book of Faerie Queene.

In form the Pastime of Pleasure differs from the Pèlerinage and resembles the Faerie Queene, being a

¹ In her "Greek Christian Poets and English Poets."

narrative of chivalric adventure. In both the hero is rewarded with the hand of a lady at the close of his adventure. Graund Amour, the hero of Hawes' poem, finds himself one day at the crossing of two ways—one 'the straight way of contemplation' and the other 'the way of worldly dignity' leading to the 'tower of fayre dame Beautye,' La Bell Pucell. The hero chooses the latter and is directed by Fame to the tower of Doctrine where he receives instruction in Trivium and Quadrivium. He meets La Bell Pucell in the Tower of Music where she agrees to receive him as her lord if he should be able to kill the Dragons guarding her paternal residence. Graund Amour prepares himself for the adventure by receiving his Knighthood in the Tower of chivalry. During his journey he meets False Report *alias* Godfrey Gobilive whose business is to alienate lovers. He designs to count Graund Amour too among his victims but is arrested and taken for punishment to the House of Correction. The hero pays a visit to this House and sees with his own eyes the punishments meted out to those who spread false report against lovers or are not true in love. Proceeding farther, he kills two giants and marries La Bell Pucell.

It will be seen that this story of chivalric adventure has also a subtler meaning. It is an allegory of the progress of the soul in its striving for moral perfection.

Hawes depicts moral and intellectual purification, though crudely, in his *Pastyme of Pleasure*.

The idea of purification is also present here. Hawes' conception of purification is, however, more advanced than

De Guilleville's and what Graund Amour undergoes is not the purification of the body—the mortification and torturing of the flesh—but an inner discipline of the soul. Distinct acts of purification are typified by the different adventures undertaken by Graund Amour and it is through these that the different stages

of the soul's progress are reached. The enemies overcome by him are states of mind which betoken moral obliquity and in which true love can have no existence. Overcoming these enemies means the purgation of the soul cleansing it of moral turpitude—jealousy, falsehood, etc. The offenders against the code of love punished in the House of Correction personify moral evils and the heads of the two giants killed by the hero bear names which signify enmity against the ideal of moral purity. The heads of the first giant are labelled Falshed, Ymagination, Perjury and on those of the second are written Dissimulation, Delay and names of other similar vices.

The discipline here portrayed by Hawes bears some resemblance to purgation as understood by Plato and Plotinus because both are internal and differ from the physical hardships insisted on by asceticism. Yet the discipline which Redcrosse had to undergo on the Mount of Contemplation, though it is more akin to Hawes' conception than to De Guilleville's, can hardly be said to be the product of Hawes' influence. Moral purity is the ideal in Hawes while Spenser lays stress on intellectual culture. Spenser's idea is strictly Platonic and Hawes, to whom Plato was probably unknown except in name, was surely not a lover of Absolute Truth and was most probably ignorant of such a philosophic notion. Love generated in the purified soul in Hawes would not be love of Truth or Wisdom which to Hawes was unintelligible. Even the ideal human love which may be regarded as the perfection of *moral virtue* (as distinct from intellectual virtue) is absent from Hawes' poem. His work is crude and his art is immature and unable to deal with deep and profound conceptions. La Bell Pucell is too much of a creature of the flesh. She is not like Una who remains veiled all through her journey and guides Redcrosse in times of danger and difficulty. While

Spenser describes the union of Una and Redcrosse in vague and delicate language, Hawes is frankly realistic in depicting the meeting of his hero and Pucell. Graund Amour says:—

“I dyd my duty, and ones or twyse ywys
Her lyppes soft I did full swetely kys.”

The training received by Graund Amour prior to his setting out on the adventure which was to win for him the hand of the lady is, however, purely intellectual. It is not such a training as would be recommended by a Court of love for any love-sick soul; on the contrary, mental gymnastics such as a study of Trivium and Quadrivium involved was considered in the mediæval times to be the best preparation for a life of contemplation, study and culture. It was necessary only for those whose aim was knowledge and a higher life of self-realisation attainable through it. Indeed the poet himself makes his meaning quite clear. Of the sciences he says that they

“Ledeth the soule the way in specyall
By good doctrine to dame Eternite—”

Again,

The VII seyences in one monacorde,
Eche upon other do full well depende;
Musyke hath them so set in concorde,
That all in one may right well extende.
All perfite reason they do so comprehende,
That theyr waye and perfite doctryne
To the joye above, whiche is celestine.”

(Pastime of Pleasure, Ch. XVI.)

Thus Hawes seems to have had a hazy notion of the intellectual discipline which leads to an apprehension of Truth or Wisdom. He could not recognise Abstract Truth as the end of human effort, and his Christian training makes him think of the goal of human existence as moral purity. He accordingly mixes up the conceptions of Wisdom and Morality. The seven

sciences "set in concord" by Music are said to illustrate the beauty of perfect Reason which leads to intellectual edification. But the knighthood conferred on Graund Amour is a spiritual distinction and is in itself a recognition of Moral Purity and not Truth as an object of human striving. The armour put on by the knight is just what Spenser in his letter to Raleigh provides for Redcrosse—the armour of St. Paul.

"For fyrst, good hope his legges harneys sholde be,
His habergion of perfyte ryghtwysenes;
Gyrde faste wyth the gyrdle of chastite

.....
His helmet mekenes, and the shelde good fayth;
His swerde Goddes worde, as saynt Poule sayth."

(P. of Pl. Ch. XXVII.)

The influence of Hawes' Pastime of Pleasure on Spenser's conception of purification in Bk. I is thus clear. Hawes' work mixes up two ideas of purification and of these the idea of moral purification has some distinctness and fullness. This has sometimes a Christian colouring and sometimes its principle is sought to be

But Platonism accounts for the clear intellectual note in Spenser's allegory.

realised in chivalric love. The idea of intellectual purification leading to the vision of Truth is very crude. Spenser was certainly influenced by Hawes' literary treatment of the theme of purification in general, but his clear and distinct conception of intellectual purgation as consisting of contemplation and "withdrawing of the soul into herself" is derived from Plato and Plotinus. It is also his Platonism that accounts for his representation of Truth as a beautiful lady attracting the admiration and love of beholders. The influence of the mysticism of Plotinus and also of Plato is again discernible in the vision of the lady's beauty which constitutes the final reward of the war-worn knight, for vision is the famous symbol of spiritual communion in the works of both these philosophers.

CHAPTER VIII

ÆSTHETIC THEORIES—FICINUS, PICO AND BENIVIENTI, THE ITALIAN NEO-PLATONISTS

Plato has no æsthetic theories in the modern sense of the term. He has not attempted to define Beauty as an independent reality or to formulate its laws. It is true that he appreciates sensuous beauty but he finally identifies it with the Good and Truth and disposes of physical Beauty as their copy and reflection. Plato values form not for its æsthetic significance but owing to its antagonism with matter and because it proceeds from Intellect which alone is Good and Beautiful. Art too is valued

Plato had no æsthetic theory, properly so called. Beauty meant Good in Plato's Philosophy.

by Plato in so far as it has a moral purpose and its function is educational. "Art for art's sake" is a doctrine the truth of which Plato would have found it difficult to recognise. Beauty as such was not to him a thing "of joy for ever."

Plotinus too follows Plato's theory of Beauty and explains physical beauty as derived through Intellect from the Good. He, however, takes more pains to study it and explains its derivation from Intellect. His point of view is the same as Plato's as is his conclusion. The Platon-

Plotinus and the Italian Neo-Platonists followed Plato. Spenser derives his ideas on beauty from Plato as well as from his followers and commentators.

ists of the Renaissance who studied Plato through his Alexandrian follower, accepted without protest Plato's identification of Beauty and the Good, which is sown broadcast in all the manuals of Platonism which appeared in Italy in the 15th and 16th centuries. Spenser closely

follows the Alexandrian and the Italian Neo-Platonists' theory of Beauty which, based as it was on Plato, contained copious elaborations.

Spenser in his "Hymne in Honour of Beautie" proceeds first to account for the beauty of the external world and next to explain human beauty. His theory that material things are beautiful because they have been created by God¹ according to the Pattern of perfect

Beauty in the physical world is received from the Pattern, through God. This is Plato's theory in the *Timaeus*.

Beauty which pours its influence on them and irradiates them, is a blend of Plato and Plotinus. The idea that the world was modelled by God on a beautiful Pattern is taken from Plato.²

In the *Timaeus* Plato says, regarding the creation of the world by God, "The work of the creator whenever he looks to the unchangeable and fashions the form and nature of his work after an *unchangeable pattern*, must necessarily be made fair and perfect." Again, "Which of the patterns had the artificer in view when he made the world,—the pattern of the unchangeable, or of that which is created?.....the world has been framed in the likeness of that which is apprehended by reason and mind and is unchangeable." Spenser differs from Plato in that he identifies the Pattern with Abstract or Perfect Beauty, while in the *Timaeus* it is only described as fair and eternal.

"That wondrous Paterne, wheresoe're it bee,

... ..

Is perfect Beautie, which all men adore ;

Whose face and feature doth so much excell

All mortall sence, that none the same may tell."

(H.B. St. 6.)

The distinction is not very important and Spenser's departure from the *Timaeus* may be due to the position

¹ Hymne in Honour of Beantie, St. 6-7.

² See Chapter VI.

ascribed to Beauty in the Symposium as the supreme and eternal Reality.

In the *Timaeus*, however, no mention is made of any ray or influence issuing out of the Pattern and irradiating dull matter. But ideas in the *Timaeus* are conflicting. In one place the world's beauty is represented as a beauty of design borrowed from the Pattern on which it is modelled. In another place it is said to be due to God who bestows on it soul and intelligence. Though no mention is made of the "influence" of Beauty into matter, the dependence of Beauty on the non-material qualities of order and intelligence is suggested even in these remarks. "Finding the whole visible sphere not at rest, but moving in an irregular and disorderly fashion, out of disorder he (the Creator) brought order, considering that this was in every way better than the other. Now the deeds of the best could never be or have been other than the fairest ; and the Creator reflecting on the things which are by nature visible, found that no unintelligent creature taken as a whole was fairer than the intelligent taken as a whole ; and that intelligence could not be present in anything which was void of soul. For which Reason when he was framing the Universe he put intelligence in soul and soul in body, that he might be the creator of a work which was by nature fairest and best. Wherefore using the language of probability, we may say that the world became a living creature truly endowed with soul and intelligence by the providence of God." Here form and intelligence which give beauty to the world are said to be the gift of God who, before imparting intelligence or beauty to it, creates the frame of the world out of the chaos. Spenser however holds that it is the influence of beauty that produces order in matter and evolves the world from the gross chaos. This aesthetic theory of Spenser has at its bottom the metaphysical

doctrine that corporeality is the result of the accession of form into matter and is impossible without it.¹ In fact Spenser's Aesthetics is but another aspect of his Metaphysics, since in the Neo-Platonic system of Philosophy beauty is the irradiation of form. The real source of this idea, as will be seen later on, is Plotinus. The Symposium and the Phædrus try to give a more developed theory than the Timæus, which is fully worked out in Plotinus' Essay on the Beautiful.

In the Symposium the source of sensible beauty is laid in Absolute Beauty which is the last of a long series of beautiful objects. It is "Beauty only, absolute, separate, simple, and everlasting which, without diminution and without increase or any change, is imparted to the evergrowing and perishing beauties of all other things." Again, in the Phædo Socrates says, "I am

The Symposium describes the source as Absolute Beauty, not as Pattern.

assured in my own mind that nothing makes a thing beautiful but the presence and participation of beauty in whatever way or manner obtained; for as to the

manner I am uncertain, but I stoutly contend that by beauty all beautiful things become beautiful." How

The Phædrus speaks of the process of derivation of beauty as infusion or effluence.

beauty is imparted to matter is not mentioned by Plato in the Phædo or in the Symposium. The Phædrus gives some idea of the process of derivation of beauty from

the original source, which is described as *effluence* or the flowing in of beauty. Referring to the change which comes upon the lover's soul when it beholds the beauty of the beloved after a long separation, Plato says, "As he (*i.e.*, the soul) receives the *effluence of beauty* through the eyes, the wing moistens and he warms. As he warms, the parts out of which the wing grew, and which had been hitherto

¹ See Chapter VI.

close and rigid, and had prevented the wing from shooting forth are melted and as nourishment streams upon him, the lower end of the wing begins to swell and grow from the root upwards extending under the whole soul."¹ Again, referring to the meeting of lovers, their approaches and embraces, *e.g.*, in the case of Zeus and Ganymede, Plato speaks of "*the stream of beauty, passing through the eyes* which are the natural doors and windows of the soul, return again to the beautiful one; there arriving and fluttering the passages of the wings, and watering them and inclining them to grow, and filling the soul of the beloved also with love."¹ The growth of the wings of the soul means simply that the soul is enabled to have communion with Beauty Absolute. This is impossible unless the soul also becomes beautiful, for communion takes place only between the likes. The streaming in of beauty thus serves to infuse beauty into the soul.

Plotinus gives a more complete theory about the infusion of beauty into matter. Matter, according to Plotinus, is formless, incorporeal and chaotic. Reasoning power has no perception of it except as indefiniteness. It can have no magnitude or bulk. But "it should have indeed the phantasm of bulk, because as being the first matter it is an aptitude to the reception of it. It is, however, a void bulk.....The indefiniteness of it, likewise, is a bulk of this kind." Into what is called the "void bulk" which according to ordinary imagery would be crevices or fissures in a material object, the so-called particles of beauty find a lodging, and these then irradiate, beautify or rationalise matter or combine its parts into one complete whole. "It is by participation of species that we call every

Plotinus develops the theory of infusion and asserts that particles from Absolute Beauty lodge in 'void bulk' and thus impart beauty to it.

¹ Phaedrus.

sensible object beautiful.....Whatever is remote from this immortal source is perfectly base and deformed. And such is matter, which by its nature is ever averse from the *supervening irradiations of form*. Whenever, therefore, form accedes it conciliates in amicable unity the parts which are about to compose a whole; for being itself one, it is not wonderful that the subject of its power *should tend to unity*, as far as the nature of a compound will admit. Hence beauty is established in multitude when the many is reduced into one.”¹ Physical beauty, therefore, is produced by the rays of Absolute Beauty lodging in the interstices of matter and unifying the parts into one complete whole. This is the

Spenser follows Plotinus.

view of Spenser also. Referring to the Pattern he says :—

“Thereof as every earthly thing partakes
Or more or lesse, by influence divine,
So it more faire accordingly it makes,

.....
—through infusion of celestiall powre,
The duller earth it quickneth with delight,
And life-full spirits privily doth powre
Through all the parts, that to the lookers sight
They seeme to please ;”

(Hymne in honour of Beautie, St. 7-8.)

The figure used by Plotinus to explain the effluence of Beauty into matter is also retained by Spenser. Plotinus always describes Beauty as the sun and its effluence as the rays of the sun. Spenser speaks of the Pattern as the “lamp” or the “sun” and its influence as its “beam.”²

The next question discussed by Spenser is human beauty. Here he receives little light from Plato and is

¹ Plotinus—*Essay on the Beautiful*.

² H. B., St. 9, 15.

indebted mostly to Plotinus, Ficinus and Pico. (In reality the theory of human beauty in Plotinus is the same as that of ordinary physical beauty as set forth above.

Ficinus and Pico teach that human beauty is received from the soul and is not due to fair complexion, form and proportion. Spenser holds the same view.

Both depend on the form or intelligence embedded in the beautiful object. In the case of a human being, however, the influence of beauty reaches the body through the agency of the soul, while ordinarily the rays of beauty are lodged directly in the pores in material objects). Spenser at the very outset mocks at the vulgar idea of beauty, *viz.*, that it is a product of mere colour and comeliness of form.

“How vainely then doe ydle wits invent,
That beautie is nought else but mixture made
Of colours faire, and goodly temp’rament
Of pure complexions, that shall quickly fade
And passe away, like to a sommers shade;
Or that it is but comely composition
Of parts well measured, with meet disposition !”

(H. B. St. 10.)

This is taken almost verbatim from Plotinus. “It is the general opinion that a certain commensuration of parts to each other, and to the whole, with the addition of colour, generates that beauty which is the object of sight; and that in the commensurate and moderate alone the beauty of every thing consists.”¹ Pico is equally emphatic in his opposition to the popular notion of Beauty. He expresses it almost in the words of Ficinus, only to controvert it and expose its untenable character. “Corporeal Beauty implies, first the material disposition of the Body, consisting of quantity in the proportion and distance of parts, of quality in figure and colour: secondly, a certain quality which

¹ Essay on the Beautiful, tr. Thomas Taylor.

cannot be express by any term better than Gracefulness, shining in all that is fair. This is properly Venus, Beauty, which kindles the fire of Love in Mankind: they who affirm it results from the disposition of the Body, the sight, figure, and colour of features, are easily confuted by experience. We see many persons exact, and unaccusable in every part, destitute of this grace, and comeliness; others lesse perfect in those particular conditions, excellently graceful and comely..... This, then, *must by consequence be ascribed to the soul.*"¹ Spenser's point is that colour and symmetry, however, excellent, cannot excite in us that sentiment which the sight of a beautiful human face kindles. The passion of love can only be explained on the theory that the beauty which excites it in the lover's mind is something akin to the mind or soul to which its appeal lies. Such a theory, therefore, would also hold that human beauty is but the manifestation of the beautiful soul. Following Pico, Spenser in fact propounds such a theory and he explains what constitutes beauty in the soul. According to Spenser the soul is derived from Immortal Beauty or God and receives its beauty also from that source. Like the rays of Beauty from the Pattern the soul has the power to impress its beauty on body, and according as a soul is good or bad—and a soul is good in proportion as it is emancipated from the thralldom of sense and rendered akin to Intellect or to God—it shapes for itself a fair or ugly body. Hence unchastity and vice in men and women, which are antagonistic to Intellect, spoil their beauty as true love and temperance refine it. On the beauty of the soul derived from God Plotinus, after expatiating on the nature and value of Temperance, Fortitude, Magnanimity, says this :—"The soul, thus defined, *i.e.*, as ornamented with these virtues, becomes form and reason,

¹ Pico—Commentary on, St. VI., VII., VIII.

is altogether incorporeal and intellectual, and wholly participates of that divine nature, which is the fountain of loveliness, and of whatever is allied to the beautiful and fair. *Hence the soul reduced to intellect becomes astonishingly beautiful.....* Intellect and whatever emanates from intellect, is not the foreign, but the proper ornament of the soul, for the being of the soul, when absorbed in intellect, is then alone real and true. It is, therefore, rightly said that the beauty and good of the soul consists in her *similitude to the Deity ; for from hence flows all her beauty.*" (Essay on the Beautiful.) This idea is thus expressed by Spenser :—

"For when the soule, the *which derived was,*
At first, out of that great im mortall Spright,
 By whom all live to love, whilome did pas
 Downe from the top of purest heavens hight
 To be embodied here, it then tooke light
 And lively spirits from the fayrest starre
 Which lights the world forth from his fire carre."

(Hymne in honour of Beautie, St. 16.)

About the influence of the soul on the body and the fashioning of the body according to the quality of the soul, Plotinus says, "Bodies themselves participate of beauty from the soul which, as something divine, and a portion of the beautiful itself renders whatever it supervenes and subdues, beautiful as far as its natural capacity will admit."¹ Plotinus does not mention the actual process of the soul's tempering the body, but Spenser recollects the process of accession of form into matter and applies the idea to the working of the soul which is represented as filling up every pore of the body and thus beautifying it. Here he also draws upon Ficinus. According to the Cambridge History of English Literature, Spenser "imitates the Italian in describing the descent of the soul

¹ Essay on the Beautiful.

from heaven to form the body, the correspondence between the beautiful soul and the beautiful body and the reason why a beautiful soul sometimes forms an ugly body.”¹ The ideas of Plotinus and

Spenser describes after Ficinus and Pico how the soul leaves its heavenly home, is joined to the body and transforms it by its own formative energy.

Ficinus are elaborated by Pico. The belief that human beauty is due to the quality of the soul is held also by Pico.

He explains at length the manner in which it is communicated. According to him God scatters souls on the planets—“some in the Moon, others in other planets and stars.” The nature of the soul varies according to the planet on which it is cast. “Platonists affirm some souls are of the nature of Saturn, others of Jupiter, or some other planet ; meaning one soul hath more conformity in its Nature with the soul of the Heaven of Saturn than with that of Jupiter, and so on the contrary.” The souls come down from the planets and are linked to different bodies to which they impart their own beauty as well as their nature. Hence from the look of a man it is possible to determine his morals and his temper. “Many imagine the Rational Soul descending from her star, in her ‘Vehiculum cœleste,’ of her self form the Body, to which by that medium she is united. Our author upon these grounds supposeth, that into the ‘Vehiculum’ of the soul, by her endued with Power to form the Body, is infused from her Star a particular formative virtue, distinct according to that Star ; thus the aspect of one is saturnine, of another jovial, etc. In their looks we read the nature of their souls.”² As to the exact manner of transference of beauty, Pico says, “This (human beauty) then must by consequence be ascribed to the Soul ; which when perfect and lucid, transfuseth even into the body

¹ Vol. III.

² Pico—Commentary on St. VI.

some beams of its splendour." The planetary home¹ of the soul, its descent into the body² and the irradiation of dull matter by it—all these theories find a place in Spenser's poetry. Describing the process of the soul's action on the body, Spenser says :—

"When she in fleshly seede is eft enraced,
Through *every part she doth the same impresse*,
According as the heavens have her graced,
And frames her house, in which he will be placed,
Fit for her selfe, adorning it with spoyle
Of th' heavenly riches which she robd ere-whyle."

(H. B. St. 17.)

"Thereof it comes that these faire soules, which have
The most resemblance of that heavenly light,
Frame to themselves most beautifull and brave
Their fleshly bowre, most fit for their delight,
And the grosse matter by a sovaine might
Tempers so trim, that it may well be seene
A pallace fit for such a virgin Queene."

(H. B. St. 18.)

From the theory that the formative *energy of the soul* shapes for it a body equal to it in beauty, Spenser arrives at the broad generalisation—which in reality is the converse of the foregoing proposition—that a beautiful person has always a virtuous soul and beauty is the index of noble ancestry.

Beautiful body is
always animated by
beautiful soul, though
there are exceptions.

"For all that faire is, is by nature good ;
That is a signe to know the gentle blood."

(H. B. St. 20.)

To those who protest against such a sweeping remark and point their finger at handsome men given to vice and

¹ H. B. St. 15.

² H. B. St. 16.

sin, Spenser's reply is that matter is not always amenable to the discipline of the soul.

"Yet oft it falles that many a gentle mynd
Dwels in deformed tabernacle drownd,
Either by chaunce, against the course of kynd,
Or through *unaptnesse in the substance found*,
Which it assumed of *some stubborne grownd*,
That will not yield unto her formes direction ;"

(H. B. St. 21.)

This passage echoes the idea of Ficinus who in commenting on Plotinus' Discourse on Love says, "She (*beauty as seen in physical objects*) keeps constantly ready to inform and adorn with wonderful effect the shapelessness of matter. If anything hideous, therefore, occurs in nature, it occurs against that first intention of God and of Nature, just as when any thing distorted is produced in an artist's studio, it is produced against the artist's intention."¹

This theory of Ficinus is traceable in his disciple Pico and in Benivieni whose Ode of Love is full of Neo-Platonism. The idea that the soul frames the body according to her own nature and attributes, and that matter sometimes rebels against her and frustrates her design, is embodied in the following lines of Benivieni :—

Benivieni is the literary predecessor of Spenser in this matter.

"—now as she may
With instruments like hers, in human clay
She frames her house ; and that must mould and form
Which thwarts now more, now less, her high designs."

(St. VI. Ode of Love.)

Pico's comments on these lines run thus : "In their (men's) looks we reade the nature of their souls. But because inferiour Matter is not ever obedient to the

¹ Plotini Divini illius è Platonica familia Philosophi De rebus Philosophicis libri LIIII. Basilea, M.D., LIX.

Stamp, the vertue of the Soul is not always equally exprest in the visible effigies ; hence it happens that two of the same Nature are unlike ; the Matter whereof the one consists, being lesse disposed to receive that Figure than the other ; what in that is compleat is in this imperfect."¹

Spenser now comes to deal with a most important question, a question which in its practical bearing must have had an immense interest for the nobles and the ladies as well as for the common folk of the Renaissance. This is the effect of Love on Beauty. The way in which the soul affects the body has already been dealt with. It has also been seen how the soul becomes beautiful and how the soul's beauty is imparted to the body. A deformed soul imparts its deformity to the body. But what is a deformed soul ? Plotinus' reply is given in these sentences. " Let us suppose a soul deformed to be one intemperate and unjust, filled with a multitude of desires..... Solely employed in the thought of what is immoral and low, bound in the fetters of impure delights, living the life, whatever it may be, peculiar to the passion of body ; and so totally merged in sensuality as to esteem the base pleasant, and the deformed beautiful and fair." (Essay on the Beautiful.) Spenser tells the "faire Dames" what causes the soul's deformity :—

" Loath that foule blot, that hellish fierbrand,
Disloiall lust faire beauties foulest blame,
 That base affections, which your eares would bland
 Commend to you by loves abused name,
 But is indeede the bondslave of defame;"

(H. B. St. 25).

And what is the beauty of the soul that irradiates and brightens the body ? After the poetical amorists of the

¹ Pice's Discourse, Book III.

Renaissance, Spenser answers that it is just the reverse of this "foul blot," this "disloiall lust." In a previous paragraph the beauty of the soul has been seen to consist in its absorption in intellect or, as

Effect of love on human beauty; unchastity degrades the soul and hence produces ugliness.

the quotation from Plotinus has it, in its "similitude to the Deity." But this is transcendentalism and abstraction carried to excess. It represents an aspect of human perfection which is never attractive. It encourages only the cultivation of the intellect and the desire for the realisation of Beauty Absolute, Truth or Sapience, celebrated in the Hymn to Heavenly Beauty. But here the reference is not to that intellectualism, that training in dialectic which enables the human soul to look beyond the tangible and the palpable but to love—noble love not purged of human connections but intensely human. It is Love as mentioned in the speech of Phaedrus in the Symposium and as glorified by Spenser in Book III, of the Faerie Queene.¹ It is this love on which the amorists of the Renaissance and the apostles of culture in Italy had laid so much stress as a prominent characteristic of the courtier and the gentleman. Castiglione and other writers of the Italian courtesy-books of the 15th century had mentioned it as a high accomplishment in an educated man. Love such as this is an ornament of the soul and the refined soul that possesses it has its effect on physical beauty.

"But gentle Love that loiall is and trew,
Will more illumine your resplendent ray,
And adde more brightnesse to your goodly hew,
From light of his pure fire ;

.....
Therefore, to make your beantie more appeare,

¹ See Chapter IV.

*It you behoves to love, and forth to lay
That heavenly riches which in you ye beare,
That men the more admyre their fountaine may;
For else what booteth that celestially ray,
If it in darknesse be enshrined ever,
That it of loving eyes be vewed never?"*

(H. B. St. 26-27).

Love and Beauty go hand in hand in Plato as well as in Spenser. A discussion of the nature of love necessarily arises out of an inquiry into the nature of Beauty. The effect of love on physical beauty has already

Analysis of the conception of love;

been determined. But what is Love itself? Spenser gives two answers to the question and for both these answers he is indebted to Plato. He describes Love as a cosmogenic principle which unites the chaotic elements in a bond of harmony (H. L. St. 12) and helps on the creation of the world.¹ Its influence extends to all living creatures whose health depends on the harmonious blending of the humours in their body.² The source of this idea is, as already seen, the speech of Eryximachus in the Symposium. But Spenser superimposes his own fancy on this notion and imagines Cupid or the God of Love as imparting warmth to the barren cold of chaos. It is this heat that leads to procreation which, again, is a means of getting rid of the "flame." This aspect of Love is described by Spenser as Lust which is imputed to inanimate nature and to beasts. Human Love, though it is conducive to generation and perpetuation of the species, is differentiated from it by Spenser according to whom man seeks to be immortal through his issue but beasts have no such aim.

it is (1) a cosmogenic principle, (2) a desire for procreation in all animals, (3) desire for beauty perceived before birth.

¹ See Chapter V.

² H. L. St. 13—l. 6-7.

"Whilest they seeke onely, without further care,
 To quench the flame which they in burning fynd;
 But man that breathes a more immortall mynd,
 Not for lusts sake, but for eternitie,
 Seekes to enlarge his lasting progenie ;"

(H. L. St. 15.)

The assumption made here is not authorised by Plato who ascribes love of issue and solicitude for their preservation both to man and beast, and puts man and beast in the same category so far as their desire for propagation is concerned. "See you not how all animals, birds as well as beasts in their desire of procreation, are in agony when they take the infection of love ; this begins with the desire of union to which is added the care of offspring, on behalf of whom the weakest are ready to battle against the strongest even to the uttermost, and to die for them.....Man may be supposed to do this from reason ; but why should animals have these passionate feelings?"¹ Diotima continues : "Marvel not at this, if you believe that love is of the immortal, as we have already admitted ; for here again, and on the same principle too, mortal nature is seeking as far as possible to be everlasting and immortal : and this is only to be attained by generation, because the new is always left in the place of old."¹

Spenser tries further to differentiate human Love from the lust of beasts, and the mark of love mentioned by him is in this case taken from Plato. Beauty lies at the root of love and man's attraction for beautiful woman is traceable to his recollection of Absolute Beauty perceived in the other world. By loving woman he only tries to possess a faint shadow of it

¹ Symposium.

and by begetting issue he tries to perpetuate it. Diotima says, "Love is only birth in beauty, whether of body or of soul.....There is a certain age at which human nature is desirous of procreation; and this procreation must be in beauty and not in deformity." But beasts do not appreciate beauty. Spenser says:—

Spenser following Ficinus ascribes two conflicting desires to man.

"For, having yet *in his deducted spright*
Some sparks remaining of that heavenly fyre,
 He is enlumined with that goodly light,
Unto like goodly semblant to aspyre;
 Therefore in choice of love he doth desyre
 That seemes *on earth most heavenly to embrace,*
 That same is Beautie, borne of heavenly race.
 For sure of all that in this mortall frame
 Contained is, nought more divine doth seeme,
 Or that resembleth more th' immortal flame
 Of heavenly light, then Beauties glorious beame."
 (H. L. St. 16-17.)

The way in which Spenser attributes two seemingly opposing motives to man, *viz.*, the desire of propagation and a longing for the possession of beauty has a sanction in Ficinus also. "Those who love the beautiful bodies not for the sake of gratification but for the fact that they are beautiful, are lovers. Further, those who desire mixed love as towards woman, by which perpetuity of generation is preserved and never wander from this, *desire both beauty and perpetuity*; and they both are temperate."¹

The conception of human beauty as being derived from the divine or heavenly beauty really accounts for the exalted notion which the lover has of the beloved. Spenser says the true lover does not simply carry an image of the person of his

¹ Plotini Divini illius è Platonica familia Philosophi De rebus Philosophicis libri LIII. Basilea, M.D. LIX.

beloved in his mind, but he strips it of all earthly and fleshly associations—colour, form, stature—and thus creates an idea which is beyond ordinary visual perception. This idea of the beloved has an affinity with the soul of the lover and it is his soul that communes with it and feels an unspeakable joy at this communion. The formation of an Idea of the beloved is a conception for which Spenser is indebted to the Italian Platonists—Pico, Benivieni and Castiglione. The Cortegiano

Six grades of love in the Cortegiano, each purer than the one immediately below it.

gives six distinct stages of the progress of the ideal lover, from the moment when he feels the promptings of love at the sight of a beautiful face till the time when his soul views the wide sea of pure divine beauty. First of all, the lover beholds a beautiful woman and loves her. Then, to alleviate the distress of separation, he impresses her fair image upon his mind. Straightway, however, his imagination idealises the face and she appears to his mind fairer than she really is. In the second stage it is this idealised face that the lover loves. But once bent on the quest of beauty, the true lover knows no stay. So stimulated by this idealised beauty of the lady, he comes to form an image of a face which is, as it were, the sum of all loveliness, a combination of selected charms. In the language of Castiglione, "Besides these blessings (of beholding the idealised face) the lover will find another much greater still, if he will employ this love as a step to mount to one much higher, which he will succeed in doing if he continually consider within himself how narrow a restraint it is to be always occupied in contemplating the beauty of one body only; and therefore, in order to escape such close bonds as these, in his thought he will little by little add so many ornaments that by heaping all beauties together he will form a universal concept and will reduce the multitude of these

beauties to the unity of that single beauty which is spread over human nature at large. In this way he will no longer contemplate the particular beauty of one woman, but the universal beauty which adorns all bodies."¹ When the lover is fully aware that this concept of universal beauty is primarily the product of his own mind, he realises that beauty must be an inherent part of the soul, and the passion for beauty "growing with each fresh activity of the spirit, he now joyously contemplates beauty as he finds it within himself, quite unembarrassed by any remembrance of the senses." Castiglione says, "Then the soul devoted to the contemplation of her own substance as if awakened from deepest sleep opened those eyes which all possess but few use, and sees in herself a ray of that light which is the true image of that angelic beauty communicated to her ... Now the same impulse which hitherto inclined the lover to universalise the beauty of women, compells him to universalise that abstract beauty which he discovers within himself, and he feels out after and discovers that encircling, all-inclusive beauty of which he had before recognised but partial and subordinate manifestations. No longer does the soul contemplate beauty in her own particular intellect but she looks forth, enraptured and ravished by its splendor, upon the vast sea of universal beauty... Last stage of all, the soul burning with the sacred fire of true love and yearning to unite herself with so great beauty, actually becomes identified therewith, incorporate in the life of God."² Beauty of a single woman, idealisation of this beauty, universal beauty of womankind, beauty as an attribute of the mind, intelligible beauty as an absolute reality, beauty of God—these are the six stages in Castiglione.

¹ Bk. IV of the *Cortegiano*.

² *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, Vol. 13, p. 418.

This sort of gradation of beauty is found also in the Hymns of Spenser. It has accordingly been suggested by a writer in the Journal of English and Germanic Philology (Vol. XIII) that Spenser is the debtor of Castiglione. But Pico writing earlier than Castiglione had classified beauty into six grades which closely resemble the six stages in Castiglione. Pico wrote by the way of commenting on the Sonnet of Benivieni and the Sonnet was published along with Pico's commentary. This Sonnet too observes a classification of beauty similar to Pico's and, as will be seen later on, it also resembles Spenser's Hymns in many respects, specially in its Neo-Platonic tinge, and may well be regarded as their model. Pico writes: "From Material Beauty we ascend to

Similar gradation in Pico to whose pages Castiglione must have been indebted.

the first Fountain by six Degrees: The Soul through the sight represents to herself the Beauty of some particular Person, inclines to it, is pleased with it and while she rests here, is in the first, the most imperfect material degree. 2. She reforms by her imagination the image she hath received, making it more perfect as more spiritual; and separating it from Matter, brings it a little nearer Ideal Beauty. 3. By the light of the agent Intellect abstracting this Form from all singularity, she considers the universal Nature of Corporeal Beauty by itself; this is the highest degree the Soul can reach whilst she goes no further than Sense. 4. Reflecting upon her own Operation, the knowledge of universal Beauty, and considering that everything founded in Matter is particular, she concludes this universality proceeds not from outward Object, but her Intrinsic Power; and reasons thus: If in the dimme Glasse of Material Phantasmes this Beauty is represented by virtue of my Light, it follows that, beholding it in the clear Mirrour of my substance divested of those Clouds, it will appear more

perspicuous: thus turning into her self, she findes the Image of Ideal Beauty communicated to her by the Intellect, the Object of Cellerstiall Love. 5. She ascends from this Idea in her self, to the place where Celestial Venus is, in her proper form: Who in the fullness of her Beauty not being comprehensible, by any particular Intellect, she as much as in her lies, endeavours to be united to the first Minde, the chiefest of Creatures, and the general Habitation of Ideal Beauty. Obtaining this, she terminates, and fixeth her journey; this is the sixth and last degree."

From a comparison of the two extracts it is clear that Castiglione the younger man must have taken his ideas directly from his elder. In Spenser the trace of Pico's theories is clear. In the Hymne in honour of Love only the first two stages of Pico find a place while the Hymne in Honour of Beautie gives in addition to these the third and fourth stages. The first stage is easily attained. The idealisation of the beauty of a woman involved in the second stage means attributing to her additional charms which in reality she does not possess. This is how Spenser describes the process.

Spenser is indebted to Pico and all his six stages are to be met with in his Hymns.

"Such is the powre of that sweet passion,
That it all sordid basenesse doth expell,
And the refyned mynd doth newly fashon
Unto a *fairer forme*, which now doth dwell
In his high thought, that would itselfe excell,
Which he beholding still with constant sight,
Admires the mirrour of so heavenly light.
Whose image imprinting in his deepest wit,
He thereon feeds his hungrie fantasy,"

(H. L. St. 28-29.)

The "fairer form" is the idealised beauty. The third stage of Pico gives the notion of universal beauty which

is derived by generalisation from different specimens of earthly beauty. In the Hymne in honour of Beautie Spenser refers to this in the following lines :—

“ But they, which love indeede, looke otherwise,
With pure regard and spotlesse true intent,
Drawing out of the object of their eyes
A more refjnyed forme, which they present
Unto their mind, voide of all blemishment ;
Which it reducing to her first perfection,
Beholdeth free from fleshes fragile infection.”

(H. B. St. 31.)

In the fourth stage, the lover realises beauty purely as a spiritual thing and as an inherent part of his soul. It is described in the Stanzas immediately following the above.

“ And then conforming it unto the light,
Which in itself it hath remaining still,
Of that first Sunne, yet sparckling in his sight,
Thereof he fashions in his higher skill
An heavenly beautie to his fancies will ;
And, it embracing in his mind entyre,
The *mirrour of his owne thought doth admyre.*

.....
Which seeing now so inly faire to be,
As outward it appeareth to the eye,
And with his spirits proportion to agree,
He thereon fixeth all his fantasie,
And fully setteth his felicitie ;”

The stages of the progress of the ideal lover in Spenser resemble the grades of the soul's ascent in the course of its heavenward flight in Benivieni, comments on whose Sonnet¹ by Pico are quoted above. The number of the grades in Benivieni is not six; and the last grades of Benivieni are not handled by Spenser in his

Stages of love in Spenser compared with the grades of the soul's ascent in Benivieni.

¹ Sometimes entitled the Ode of Love,

Hymns to Beauty and to Love. These as well as the last two stages of Pico represent a plane of elevation partially reached in the Hymns to Heavenly Love and to Heavenly Beauty. Benivieni broadly divides the soul's ascent into three stages, represented by three forms of beauty—beauty of the body, of the heart and of the mind or Intellect.

“ One sun enkindles from that countenance blest
Through three refulgent glasses every grace
That mind and soul and body here adorns.
Whence first the eyes, next through these whence sojourns
Its other handmaid, does the heart embrace
That fairness, though less base,
Not full expressed; until from many fair
The heart from matter tears,
Is shaped a type, wherein what nature rends
In all asunder, into one there blends.”

(Ode of Love St. 7.)

There are, however, subdivisions of each of these stages. The grades of Benivieni do not exactly correspond to Spenser's or to Pico's, yet a general resemblance among them is discernible. The idealised beauty of the beloved is reached in the second stage of the lover's progress in Pico and in Castiglione; Spenser calls this beauty “a fairer form.” Benivieni refers to this conception when he mentions heart as apprehending beauty.

—“ Next to these whence sojourns
Its other handmaid, *does the heart embrace*
That fairness, though less base,
Not full expressed ;”

The idea of universal beauty represented by the third stage of Pico and of Castiglione and referred to in Spenser's lines,

“ But they, which love indeede, looke otherwise,
.....
Drawing out of the object of their eyes
A more refyned forme, which they present
Unto their mind, voide of all blemishment ;”

is suggested in the following lines of Benivieni :—

“—*from many fairs*
The heart from matters tears,
Is shaped a type, wherein what nature rends
In all asunder, into one there blends.”

(Ode of Love St. 7.)

Beauty as an inherent part of the mind, comprehensible by the Intellect alone and the object of the lover's vision in the fourth stage of his progress as depicted by Pico, is thus referred to in Benivieni:—

“a something sacred that invites
 The gentle heart to heights
 Where a more perfect beauty sits serene.
 There not the shadow that on earth has been
 Sole witness of true good, the heart shall find,
 But clear light and the true sun's image true.
 If gentle heart those sacred signs pursue,
 It finds *that image planted in the mind.*”

(Ode of Love St. 8.)

The lover may be said to enjoy the product of his own mind when he idealises the beauty of his beloved as much as when he perceives it as part of his own soul. Common folk would look upon an advanced lover of this type as a prey to his own imagination. Benivieni describes such a lover as feeding on a “sweet error.”

“On a sweet error the heart feeds, its dear
 One deeming that which of itself was born.”

(Ode of Love. St. 7).

Again,

“The soul that meetly lodging it, displays
 It fairer in the rays
 Of her own potency ; whence is decreed
 That loving hearts on a *sweet error feed.*”

—(Ode of Love. St. 6).

Spenser expresses the same opinion about such a lover.

“—he fashions in his higher skill
An heavenly beautie to his fancies will ;
And, it embracing in his mind entyre,
The mirrour of his owne thought doth admyre.”

(H. B. St. 32).

“—lovers eyes more sharply sighted bee
Then other mens, and in deare loves delight
See more then any other eyes can see,”

(H. B. St. 34.)

The fertile imagination of the lover that invests his beloved with supernatural graces is however put by Shakespeare in the same category as the hallucination from which mad men suffer.

“Lovers and mad men have such seething brains,
Such shaping fantasies, *that apprehend*
More than cool reason ever comprehends.
The lunatic, the lover and the poet,
Are of imagination all compact :
One sees more devils than vast hell can hold,
That is, the mad man : the lover, all as frantic,
Sees Helen’s beauty in a brow of Egypt.”

(A Midsummer Night’s Dream, Act V. Sc. I.)

Besides following the theories and reasonings of Plato, Spenser sometimes borrows stray sentences from his dialogues. Such are Phaedrus’ opinion that Love is the eldest of the gods and Agathon’s protest that he is the youngest. Spenser in his Hymne in honour of Love reconciles these two contradictory remarks in the manner of Ficinus. Ficinus tries to harmonise these two ideas by introducing into the theory a Christian element derived from the Neo-Platonism of the Pseudo-Dionysius. He says, “Love, guiding the creator, was indeed, elder than the creation of the universe ; but that God afterwards

created the order of angels, and Love turned the angelic intelligences towards God ; so that *Love may be called at once the youngest, and the eldest, of the divine powers.*"¹ Spenser also borrows Diotima's myth of Plenty and Penury.² The theory of Cosmogonic Cupid as developed in the Hymne in honour of Love³ is, as already seen,⁴ based on the speech of Eryximachus in the Symposium. This idea of love has been reproduced in Colin Clouts Come Home Again in almost exactly the same language as has been used in the Hymn to Love ; *e.g.*, Spenser says,

"Through him the cold began to covet heat,
And water fire,———" etc.

¹ Cambridge History of English Literature, Vol. III.

² H. L., St. 8.

³ St. 12-14.

⁴ See Chapter on Friendship.

CHAPTER IX

NEO-PLATONISM AND CHRISTIANITY, —HEAVENLY LOVE

In the Hymne of Heavenly Love the subject is Heavenly Love which Spenser himself carefully distinguishes from ordinary earthly love on which he had written so profusely in his youth. In contrasting it with Heavenly Love, he uses rather strong language against the mortal passion and calls it a "mad fit" which he abjures in turning to "true love."

"Many lewd layes (ah ! woe is me the more !)
In praise of that mad fit which fooles call love,
I have in th' heat of youth made heretofore,
That in light wits did loose affection move ;
But all those follies now I do reprove,
And turned have the tenor of my string,
The heavenly prayes of true love to sing."

(Hymne of Heavenly Love, St. 2.)

The contrast is, however, brought out more clearly in the body of the Hymn and has its basis in the teachings of Christianity as well as in the blending of Christianity, Platonism and Neo-Platonism, which had kept scholars and churchmen busy for centuries. Christian Love signifies moral purity and sympathy for suffering humanity. The Platonic and Neo-Platonic theories of Love connected the yearning of the human soul with the notions of Beauty and Generation. Following

Meaning of Heavenly Love and its distinguishing characteristics.

Ficinus, Spenser attributes to the Christian God the Neo-Platonic love leading to generation.

The evolution of matter from the One through three stages was the subject-matter of the metaphysics of Plotinus. The One in Plotinus is the Good. It is indescribable, inconceivable and beyond being. The Intellect is not one but dual ; it has consciousness of subject and object and issues out of the One through a process of emanation. The Soul is multiform and similarly emanates from the Intellect. These three entities have corresponding degrees of beauty. This philosophical Trinity of Plotinus has been variously interpreted at various times. The scholars of the Renaissance busied themselves in studying and analysing Plato and Plotinus and attributing to them all sorts of meanings. Ficinus put a Platonic interpretation on the emanation-theory of Plotinus and also discovered in him traces of the Christian Trinity. All the three entities in Plotinus are beautiful and as the lower is derived from the higher, Ficinus applied to the process of emanation Diotima's theory of love and birth in Beauty. The feeling of the Intellect towards the Good is one of love and just as physical love leads to generation in the physical sense, intellectual love results in generation in the spiritual sense. Commenting on Bk. V. of *Ennead* III. of Plotinus, Ficinus says, "The first intellect, God's,

Following Ficinus and Plotinus, Spenser makes Heavenly Love the cause of the evolution of the universe from the Primal Essence or God.

which is purely intellect, is most foreign to matter. Moreover we conclude that the intelligent soul, directly created by that first intelligence, God, and therefore intellectual in the highest degree, cannot be united to matter so as to have the common form of one composite. For, this intellectual soul is indeed intelligence, and simply a soul ; the life that springs from *this union* is, so to say, a soul, simply, a nature which now can be united with matter. Hence that intellectual soul

in the world we call *the first reproductive principle*; the life further infused in the world we call *the second reproductive principle*. In both there exists a *perpetual love for the beauty of the divine mind*. It incites the first, i.e., *the intellectual soul to the production of a similar beauty in itself*; it incites the second to an expression of beauty in matter as perfect as possible As such an act is most intimate to the soul in the world and has a most intimate object, and is a most efficacious act, he (Plotinus) thinks that it produces an effect proportionate to this act. Since the act proceeds from an intelligence, it is an intelligible something, and as it proceeds from love, it is lovable, nay, it is a reality of love produced by an act of love..... By a most intimate act, a reality is produced within, in which the produced becomes the same as the essence of the producer, with this difference, however, that in the essence of the producer it propagates itself, and in the other is propagated. Moreover, it is distinct by a relation: since *this lovable reality, is, by the very fact that it exists, the reality both of the lover and the loved*. A further difference lies in this that in the propagating reality there is rather a vision of the beautiful while in the propagated reality there is rather a pleasure in the possession of the beautiful."¹ Here Ficinus describes the third entity or the third form of beauty in Plotinus as the issue of the union of the other two entities. As there is a reproduction of physical beauty as a result of marital union, the intelligent soul contemplating the beauty of the One or Divinity produces a reality by an act of love. Spenser applies this feeling of love and desire for generation, without any alteration, to Divinity itself. This is the first kind of Heavenly Love in Spenser.

¹ Plotini Divini illius è Platónica familia Philosophi De rebus Philosophicis libri LIIII. Basilea, M. D. LIX.

" *It lov'd it selfe, because it selfe was faire ;*
 (For faire is lov'd ;) and *of it selfe begot,*
 Like to it selfe his eldest sonne and heire,
 Eternall, pure and voide of sinfull blot—"

(H. H. L. St. 5.)

Ficinus saw Plato as well as Plotinus through a Christian medium and discovered in them Christian forms of thought; and in order to read into them Christian ideas he even distorted their text and meaning. Commenting on Plotinus' discourse on Love in *Ennead III., Bk. V.*, Ficinus says, "Plotinus indeed, after Plato, supposes that the intellectual soul, when it thinks of God and tries to understand him and to long for him, conceives within

Influence of Christianity on Plato's theory of birth in beauty. Ficinus applies Christian ideas to Neo-Platonic Philosophy and is followed in this respect by Spenser.

itself not something quite imaginary, but a subsistent reality. In this, Plotinus had before his mind, I suppose, the *mystery of the Christian Trinity*... .. Since the act proceeds from an intelligence, it is an intelligible something, and as it proceeds from love, it is lovable, nay, it is a reality of love produced by an act of love." Spenser in his *Hymne of Heavenly Love* adopts this Christianised form of Neo-Platonism and identifies the Christian Trinity with the Trichotomy of Plotinus. Thus *Heavenly Love* in Spenser has reference to generation or the creation of the world,—the evolution or emanation of the manifold from the primal unity. It affords an illustration of Spenser's "traditional Platonism"; for, as shewn above, Spenser is indebted to various sources for this idea. The attributing of Love and desire for propagation to God or Spirit was not, strictly speaking, an original conception of the 16th and 17th century English poets as suggested by Dr. Harrison,¹ but was the

¹ Platonism in English Poetry, p. 67.

product of Platonic studies in Italy notably by Ficinus the orthodox Christian who was followed by Benivieni¹ and Pico.²

This Christian application of Plotinus' doctrine is handled by Spenser according to his own Calvinistic theology. Though in the Hymne of Heavenly Love he describes the Trinity of Plotinus—the three stages of emanation—as the three persons of the Christian Trinity, the variations from Plotinus are apparent. For instance, Divinity or the One is described by Plotinus as quiescent and unruffled by any movement. Spenser who evidently identifies the One with the “High Eternal Power” describes it as *loving itself*.—

“That High Eternall Powre, which now doth move
In all these things, *mov'd in itselfe by love*.
It lov'd itselfe, because it selfe was faire;”

Again, in Spenser the Son is not in any way inferior to the Father but equal to him in dignity.

“The firstling of his joy, in whom no jot
Of loves dislike or pride was to be found,
Whom he therefore with *equall honour crown'd*.”

(H. H. L. St. 5).

In Plotinus, however, the second hypostasis is appreciably inferior to the One in essence as well as in beauty. The Soul in Plotinus is an emanation from the Intellect—the multiform issues out of the biform. But Spenser derives his third from both the Father and the Son.

“*With him he raignd* before all time prescribed,
In endlesse glorie and immortall might,
Together with that third from *them* derived,
Most wise, most holy, most almightie Spright!

¹ Ode of Love, St. 3.

² Sec. XVIII. of Platonic Discourse on Love.

Whose kingdomes throne no thought of earthly wight
 Can comprehend, much lesse my trembling verse
 With equall words can hope it to rehearse."

(H. L. St. 6.)

This is in strict accordance with Calvin's theology.¹
 The last two lines of the above stanza also show that

Spenser's variations
 from Plotinus and
 Ficinus due to his
 strict Calvinism.

this 'third' or the Holy Ghost has been
 given a position equal to God's. This
 is strict Calvinistic Christianity but in
 Plotinus the third hypostasis or the Soul is inferior to
 the first and to the second. The Soul is moreover a
 strictly human possession and is not, as represented in
 Spenser's lines, beyond human comprehension.

The creation of angels is also in accordance with the
 Platonic theory. Its immediate source however is not
 the Symposium but the Timaeus where God is repre-
 sented as desiring good and beauty because He Himself
 is good and beautiful, and as creating the world on the
 model of his own beauty. "Let me tell you then why the
 creator made this world of generation. He was good,
 and the good can never have jealousy of any thing. And
 being free from jealousy he desired that all things should
 be as like himself as they could be. This is in the truest
 sense the origin of creation and of the world, as we shall
 do well in believing on the testimony of wise men; God
 desired that all things should be good and nothing bad,
 so far as this was attainable." Spenser says,

"Yet being pregnant still with powrefull grace,
 And full of fruitfull love, that loves to get
 Things like himselfe, and to enlarge his race,
 His second brood, though not in powre so great,
 Yet full of beautie, next he did beget
 An infinite increase of Angels bright,
 All glistring glorious in their Makers light."

(H. H. L. St. 8.)

¹ Mod. Phil., May, 1914, p. 3.

The second form of Heavenly Love in Spenser's Third Hymn is a strictly Christian idea. This love is equivalent to God's infinite mercy shown in His dealing with man—in the means provided by Him for the Expiation of his sin and his Redemption.

Heavenly Love is also equivalent to God's infinite mercy towards man.

“—that great Lord of Love, which him at first
Made of meere love, and after liked well,
Seeing him lie like creature long accurst
In that deepe horror of despeyred hell,
Him, wretch, in doole would let no lenger dwell,
But cast out that bondage to redeeme,
And pay the price, all were his debt extreeme.”

(H. H. L. St. 19.)

This stanza can be paralleled by these passages from I. John: “Hereby perceive we the love of God, because he laid down his life for us: and we ought to lay down our lives for the brethren.”¹

“In this was manifested the love of God toward us, because that God sent His only begotten Son into the world, that we might live through him.”²

“Herein is love, not that we loved God, but that he loved us, and sent His Son to be the propitiation for our sins.”³

The third form of Heavenly Love means that state of our soul in which communion with God⁴ becomes possible. It is thus a state which in its charity, moral purity and goodness resembles Divinity itself. Heavenly Love is here almost the same as divine love described above, but it is presented as an Ideal to be attained by man and not as an attribute of God Himself. This love is to supplant the

In Spenser Heavenly Love means Christian piety.

¹ III-16.

² IV-9.

³ IV-10.

⁴ In Spenser it refers to the Redemptive Love of God as typified in Christ and not to the Deity.

love of sensible beauty and the desire to enjoy it. As an inevitable corollary to this love of the Supreme Deity, the Bible mentions the love of our fellow-beings as our brothers. Plato had conceived of the supreme Reality as Good and Wisdom but Christianity had taught people to think of God as love. When Plato speaks of spiritual love he uses the term with reference to the beauty of Wisdom which enraptures and captivates the Intellect and the Soul, as physical beauty charms the eye. This love with its attendant form of beauty is dealt with in the "Hymne of Heavenly Beautie." But by "Heavenly Love" something different is meant in the latter part of the "Hymne of Heavenly Love." It means all that the Christian ideal implies,—infinite charity, piety, humility—all that constitutes Christian Perfection as typified in the life of Christ Himself. Realisation of this ideal is, in the language of Theology, communion with the Supreme Godhead, and this is the goal of human existence. When the Christian is asked to love God he is asked to march forward to this consummation. But how is this ideal to be realised? Not by successive stages of advance in knowledge, for knowledge is pride, and God has confounded the wisdom of the learned. Not by strength or virtue, for blessed are the weak and the lowly. It is to be attained through Humility and Charity, by shunning the things of the World and, lastly, through the grace of God. This ideal is apparently Christian but the emphasis laid on grace is due to Spenser's strong Calvinism—his belief that man (unregenerated by grace) is worse than vile earth and "next to naught." This is also brought out in the condition on which he makes the regeneration of man and his communion with God to depend. Only His grace can lead him on to the ideal after he has been purified by contrition and strict penance.

"—let thy soule, whose sins his sorrows wrought,
 Melt into teares, and grone in grieved thought.
 With sence whereof, whilest so thy softened spirit
 Is inly toucht, and humbled with meeke zeale
 Through meditation of his endlesse merit,
 Lift up thy mind to th' Author of thy weale,
 And to his *soveraine mercie do appeale*;"

(H. H. L. St. 36-37.)

Though the ideal is Christian, Spenser's Platonism comes out in his handling of it—in the process recommended by him for its realisation. It is modelled on the progression in æsthetic and intellectual training as delineated in the Symposium and the Republic,—the lower (beauty) leading to the higher till the highest is reached. Applying this dialectical process to Christian training, Spenser makes the successive stages consist of the progressive knowledge of the different periods of Christ's life commencing from His very birth, and of the different aspects of His character culminating in his self-immolation for the redemption of man. The aim of this knowledge is not intellectual training which is vain and useless, but a training in humility, sacrifice and other Christian virtues. The very language used by the poet goes to show that he had such a progression in view—he makes a beginning, passes through a middle stage and reaches an end.

This Christian ideal is reached by means of a Platonic method, viz., the method of graded progress described in the Symposium.

"Lift up to him thy heaveie clouded eyne,
 That thou his soveraine bountie mayst behold,
 And read, through love, his mercies manifold.
Beginne from first, where he encradled was
 In simple cratch, wrapt in a wad of hay,
 Betweene the toylefull Oxe and humble Asse,

 From thence reade on the storie of his life,

His humble carriage, his unfaulty wayes,
 His cancred foes, his fights, his toyle, his strife,

 And looke at last, how of most wretched wights
 He taken was, betrayd, and false accused ;
 How with most scornfull taunts, and fell despights,
 He was revyld, disgrast, and foule abused ;
 How scourgd, how crownd, how buffeted, how brused ;
 And lastly, how twixt robbers crucifyde,
 With bitter wounds through hands, through feet, and syde !”
 (H. H. L. St. 32-35.)

Spenser speaks of meditation on the Crucifixion as furnishing the last stage of training for the Christian seeking the ideal. But he goes on to mention some other stages before the full realisation of the Ideal is described. The aspirant ‘melts into teares’ through contrition, he meditates ceaselessly on the merits of the Saviour and begs the grace of God. He shuns worldly love and gives himself up “unto him full and free.” It is only then that his purged soul feels the rapture of Heavenly Love. But even here Spenser’s description of this ideal love in the soul resembles Plato’s picture of the glorious vision which appears at the end of the long series of minor beauties in the Symposium. It is also an influence of Platonism that Spenser cannot describe this celestial love otherwise than as a beautiful object of vision.

Spenser in the manner of Plato describes the ideal as a vision.

“Then shall thy ravisht soule inspired bee
 With heavenly thoughts farre above humane skil,
 And thy bright radiant eyes shall plainly see,
 Th’ Idee of his pure glorie present still
 Before thy face, that all thy spirits shall fill
 With sweete enragement of celestiall love,
 Kindled through sight of those faire things above.”

Contemplation of the life of Christ is rewarded with a vision of the “Idee of his pure glorie.” It means that

a training in the Christian virtues will fill the soul with His love; in other words, the man-Christ will lead the soul to God-Christ or Christ as God sees him, Christ as an aspect of Divinity and as merged in Him.¹

The first and third forms of Heavenly love as explained above are not the same in kind. As already noted, the first form is philosophical—based on Plato and Plotinus, though with a coating of Christianity on it; while the second form is essentially Christian, though the handling of it is Platonic. The portrayal of the first kind of Heavenly Love takes the form of the evolution of the world and the soul from the One Highest reality.

The distinction between the Platonic and Neo-Platonic methods used by Spenser.

This, as already indicated, is the emanation of Plotinus. This last kind of Heavenly Love is depicted as the ascent of the soul till it is merged in God-Christ. The progression is, of course, a Platonic idea but it is also the counter-process of the emanation of Plotinus. Emanation and absorption follow each other as the day does the night, and Neo-Platonism finds in this eternal and ceaseless process the proper exercise of the Divine energy. The handling of this Neo-Platonic theme in poetry is not original or new in Spenser. Benivieni's Ode of Love is based on this topic. It traces the progress of the soul in its descent on the earth from Divinity and its return to that primal source.

"I tell how love from its celestial source
In Primal Good flows to the world of sense,
When it had birth, and whence
That moves the heavens, refines the soul, gives laws
To all; in men's hearts taking residence,
With what arms keen and ready in resource,
It is the gracious force
Which mortal mind from earth to heaven draws."

(Benivieni's Ode of Love, St. II.)

¹ Journal of English and Germanic Philology, Vol. 13. p. 424 and M. Phil. Vol. 8. p. 546.

In these lines Benivieni summarises the subject of his poem. The difference between Benivieni and Spenser is that Benivieni deals with the theme as a purely Neo-Platonic conception, while Spenser modifies Neo-Platonic Philosophy through the introduction of Christian ideas. Spenser, as seen above, also introduces variations in details whenever necessary to fit it in with his Calvinism.

CHAPTER X

HEAVENLY BEAUTY—MYSTICISM

Spenser describes Heavenly Beauty as something connected with the Deity and remote from the world which has to be left behind by anybody seeking to attain to it. It is therefore different from physical beauty, the origin of which has been discussed in the "Hymne in honour of Beautie" and "Hymne in honour of Love." Physical beauty can be apprehended by sense and described in language, but Spenser's words make it clear that his conception of Heavenly Beauty is different. He mentions Heavenly Beauty at the end of a series of beautiful physical objects only to suggest that it is more beautiful than these but exclaims at last that his tongue fails to describe it.

Characteristics of
Heavenly Beauty.

"Yet is that Highest farre beyond all telling,
Fairer then all the rest which there appeare,
Though all their beauties joynd together were ;
How then can mortall tongue hope to expresse
The image of such endlesse perfectnesse ?
Cease then, my tongue ! and lend unto my mynd
Leave to bethinke how great that beautie is,"

(Hymne of Heavenly Beautie, St. 15-16.)

The tongue of the poet describes beauty visible to the eye, and what the tongue cannot describe is, therefore, immaterial, and hence for its apprehension

the help of the mind is necessary. Later on the poet says :—

“—gathering *plumes of perfect speculation*,
 To impe the wings of thy *high flying mynd*,
 Mount up aloft *through heavenly contemplation*,
 From this darke world, whose damps the soule do blynd,
 And, like the native brood of Eagles kynd,
 On that bright Sunne of Glorie fix thine eyes,”

(H. H. B., St. 20.)

Thus contemplation and speculation are the only way leading to this Beauty. The conception is Platonic. Beauty approachable not by sense but by the mind is the pivot of Platonic Philosophy. But to say that Heavenly Beauty is to be apprehended by the mind is, however, no adequate description of its nature—it is the beauty of the mind, Intellect or Truth itself.

The beauty of the mind or Intellect can be divided into two forms. In one form it is beauty apprehended as part of the mind of the perceiver ; here it is the beauty of the individual intellect. The second form of intellectual beauty is not the possession of any individual mind but is realised as universal beauty. Beyond these two forms is the third form of beauty which transcends all limitations of perception and intellection and can be realised through direct communion only (union or intuition). This is the Beauty of God. The distinction is not clearly recognised by Plato, though he observes a

Plato's and Plotinus' discussions on spiritual beauty on which Spenser draws chiefly.

rough classification of this type. The beauty of the mind referred to in the speech of Diotima seems to mean beauty perceived as an inherent part of the individual mind. Diotima says elsewhere, “The true order of going or being led by another to the things of love, is to use the beauties of earth as steps along which he mounts upwards for the sake of that other

beauty, going from one to two and from two to all fair forms, and from fair forms to fair actions, and from fair actions to fair notions, until from fair notions he arrives at the notion of absolute beauty, and at last knows what the essence of beauty is." Here "fair notions," "notion of absolute beauty" and "the essence of beauty" mean respectively the first, the second and the third form of spiritual beauty (*i.e.*, God's beauty) as described above. The "abundance of beauty" which is distinguished from "the beauty of one youth, or man or institution," and the "single science which is the science of beauty everywhere" mentioned as the last two rungs of the famous ladder of ascent in the Symposium, seem to stand for the second and third forms of beauty as classified above, *i.e.*, universal beauty and the beauty of the Deity. Again, in the Phaedrus the being or "true knowledge" visited by the winged soul during its heavenly career may typify the second as well as the third form of spiritual beauty. Plotinus clearly distinguishes the beauty of the Deity from that of the most universal truth—the One from the Intellect. Intellect is self-conscious while the One transcends all experience and consciousness and is realised in "mystic union." "The good and the beautiful, are the same...in the first rank we must place the beautiful, and consider it as the same with the good; from which immediately emanates intellect as beautiful."¹ It has already been mentioned how the lover in Pico and in Castiglione reaches his goal through the progressive realisation of six forms of beauty. The last three forms can be identified with the three kinds of spiritual beauty mentioned above. Thus their fourth stage of beauty is the beauty of the particular mind—truth or sapience *sub specie temporis* as distinguished from Truth *sub specie*

¹ Plotinus—Essay on the Beautiful.

*aeternitatis*¹ represented by their fifth grade which is universal beauty or the beauty of universal Truth. Spenser has dealt with the first four stages of Pico and Castiglione including truth *sub specie temporis* in his first two hymns,² and takes up universal Beauty or Truth *sub specie aeternitatis* in his hymn to Heavenly Beauty. Heavenly Beauty in Spenser is not the beauty of God but of universal Truth. Hence though God is mentioned here and there in the Hymn as the Supreme Ruler, Spenser represents Truth as His seat and Sapience as His beloved sitting on His very bosom. It is her beauty that is celebrated throughout the poem, and stanza after stanza dwells on her supernatural charm and grace. Spenser, unable to present a visible image of Sapience, writes,

“The fairenesse of her face no tongue can tell ;
 For she the daughters of all women’s race,
 And Angels eke, in beautie doth excell,
 Sparkled on her from God’s owne glorious face,

.....
 How then dare I
 Presume to picture so divine a wight
 Or hope t’expresse her least perfections part,
 Whose beautie filles the heavens with her light.”

(H. H. B., St. 30, 33.)

According to the Christian theology, Sapience would stand for Logos, the mind of God, as distinguished from His Redemptive Love which is typified by Christ and dealt with by Spenser in the third Hymn. The figuring of Sapience as a feminine being beloved of God, is due to Gnostic influence.³

¹ M. Phil., Vol. 8, p. 552.

² For a pointed contrast between physical beauty and beauty of the individual mind, see the Epithalamion.

³ Mod. Phil., Vol. 8, p. 546.

It has been seen¹ how Benivieni's Ode of Love deals with the various grades of beauty rising up to the beauty of the individual mind. Benivieni however passes beyond this and realises abstract or universal beauty (the fifth stage of Pico and Castiglione) represented in Spenser by Sapience.

Benivieni.

"If the gentle heart these sacred signs pursue,
It finds that image planted in the mind ;
Thence soars to more refined
And pure light circumfused about that sun
By whose eternal, one
Glory illumined, loving, are made fair
The mind, the soul, the world, and all things true."

(Ode of Love, St. 8.)

The image implanted in the mind is thus a step of ascent leading to the Beauty that imparts grace to every thing in this world. Benivieni, like Spenser, shrinks from the next step,—from coming face to face with the blinding beam of God's beauty.

Though Heavenly Beauty is described as the beauty of Knowledge or Intellect, it is not altogether divorced from morality. According to Plato it is Good and so is it according to Plotinus. Spenser therefore makes Righteousness the sceptre of the Deity and Truth his seat.

"His scepter is the rod Righteousnesse,
With which he bruseth all his foes to dust,
And the great Dragon strongly doth repress,"

(H. H. B. 23.)

Spenser is indebted to Plato's Philosophy not only for his conception of Heavenly Beauty but also for the means of reaching and apprehending it. In the Symposium Diotima recommends a graded realisation of the Good

through successive stages of beauty. Spenser uses this method of progression, but with a difference. According to Diotima man should first love one beautiful form only; if he profits by this lesson and thinks deeply on it, he will see that all other forms have the same beauty and that beauty in matter is always the same.

From this, again, he will learn that the beauty of ideas is finer than sensible beauty. From the beauty of ideas as perceived in laws and institutions he

Spenser uses the method of progression of Plato to reach Heavenly Beauty;

will rise to the apprehension of beauty in the sciences which are of a more universal application, and leaving this, he will at last approach the one science, "the science of beauty" and will enjoy the vision of the vast sea of Beauty. It will appear from the above that for purposes of ascent from one stage of beauty to another Plato recommends the gradual purgation of the sense element in the human soul, which involves the exercise of the intellect or the faculty of generalisation. Generalisation is involved in having an idea of abstract physical beauty from a number of beautiful material objects. Similarly the beauty of the sciences is reached through generalisation from the beauty of laws and institutions and a similar process is used for comprehending 'the science of beauty.' Spenser, however, does not use this potent instrument. He propounds the theory that things are beautiful in proportion as they are physically distant from this gross earth, since the sea which encircles the Earth is finer and more beautiful than it and the stars farther away are finer than the sea.¹ The firmament again—"that mightie shining christall wall"—is finer than the stars, the "pyles of flaming brands." Having established his theory on the facts supplied by this Lucretian cosmology, Spenser extends

¹ Spenser here follows the cosmology of Lucretius.

its application to the Ptolemaic Universe and beyond it to the habitation of the Platonic Idea and lastly to the abodes of the angels of the Christian Hierarchy—Powers, Potentates, Princes and Dominations.¹ The progression is not from the concrete to the abstract as in Plato but from the less distant to the more distant, and the most beautiful is supposed to be situated at the greatest distance from the earth. This mode of ascent presupposes a similarity between rarefied sensible beauty and the beauty of Truth, and its object is to realise the latter through the refinement of the former. But sensible beauty, though very fine, cannot shake off altogether its materiality. The nature of Sapience is quite different from it. Spenser admits the failure of his first dialectical flight

but he fails because his ladder of ascent comprises only images of sensible beauty.

as incapable of giving any idea of the “essentiall parts” of Heavenly Beauty.

It shows only the “utmost parts” of it.

The failure is the inevitable outcome of the method applied, *viz.*, the gradual refinement of physical beauty in the hope of reaching through it the beauty of Truth. But the difference between physical beauty and Truth is a difference of kind, not of degree only. Spenser therefore attempts a second ascent.

“—lend unto my mynd

Leave to bethinke how great that beautie is,
Whose utmost part so beautifull I fynd;
How much more *those essentiall parts* of his,
His truth, his love, his wisdom, and his blis,
His grace, his doome, his mercy, and his might,
By which he lends us of himselfe a sight!”

(H. H. B., St. 16.)

The poet begins this time also with images of physical beauty, *e.g.*, the handiwork of God but, following the

¹ H. H. B., St. 11-14.

teaching of Diotima, he uses them merely as stepping-stones to the realisation of a higher beauty, *viz.*, the beauty of spiritual and intellectual qualities—the beauty of God's wisdom and goodness as displayed in His creation and, by gradual ascent up the new path and through the exercise of his powers of contemplation, rises up to the most abstract hypostasis—Heavenly Beauty or Wisdom.

The true ladder
of ascent comprises
grades of spiritual
beauty,

“The meanes, therefore, which unto us is lent
Him to behold, is on his workes to looke,
Which he hath made in beauty excellent,
And in the same, as in a brasen booke,
To reade enregistered in every nooke
His goodnesse, which his beautie doth declare;
For all thats good is beautifull and faire.”

(H. H. B., St. 19.)

“Thence gathering plumes of *perfect speculation*,
To impe the wings of thy high flying mynd,
Mount up aloft through *heavenly cotemplation*,
From this darke world, whose dampes the soule do bynd,
And, like the native brood of Eagles kynd,
On that bright Sunne of Glorie fixe thine eyes,
Clear'd from grosse mists of fraile infirmities.”

(H. H. B., St. 20.)

The right method of rising up to the realisation of Truth, as latterly used by Spenser and as differentiated from that other method of apprehending it through the refinement of material beauty is also suggested by Plato. In the Republic Plato affirms that Truth cannot be attained except through the activity of Intellect, known as dialectic, and he distinguishes dialectic from the arts and the sciences. “And so, Glaucon, we have at last arrived at the hymn of dialectic. This is that strain which is

of the intellect only.....Assuredly none will argue that there is any other method of comprehending by any regular process all true existence or of ascertaining what each thing is in its own nature; for the arts in general are concerned with the desires or opinions of men, or are cultivated with a view to production and construction... and as to the mathematical sciences which, as we were saying, have some apprehension of true being, they only dream about being but never can they behold the waking reality so long as they leave the hypotheses which they use unexamined, and are unable to give an account of them...Then *dialectic, and dialectic alone, goes directly to the first principle*, and is the only science which does away with hypotheses in order to make her ground secure."¹

Learning the *wisdom* of God from an examination of His handiwork is also a Christian idea. Calvinism with its strong insistence on the baseness and sinfulness of human nature, has repeatedly warned man against the boldness of attempting to pry into mystery of the Deity Himself and asked him to rest content with studying His manifestations in the world of creation. "Hence it is obvious, that in seeking God, the most direct path and the fittest method is, not to attempt with presumptive curiosity to pry into his essence, which is rather to be adored than minutely discussed, but to contemplate him in his works, by which he draws near, becomes familiar, and in a manner communicates himself to us."² This Calvinistic idea in Spenser prevents him from following Plato and Plotinus to the last in their upward march towards Perfect Beauty. In Plato the last rung of the ladder is called the "Essence of Beauty" which is higher than the beauty of the

¹ Republic, Bk. VII.

² Institute, 9.

sciences or Absolute Beauty. It is "a nature of wondrous beauty, nor growing and decaying, or waxing and waning; in the next place, not fair in one point of view and foul in another,or in the likeness of a face or hands or any other part of the bodily frame, or in any form of speech or knowledge, nor existing in any other being; as for example, an animal, whether in earth or heaven, but beauty only, absolute, separate, simple, and everlasting," and Plato uses "the beauties of earth as steps along which he mounts upwards for the sake of that other beauty." In Plato the last stage is attainable,

Spenser's Calvinism interferes with his pursuit of Heavenly Beauty.

though there is naturally great difficulty in the way, and Plato describes the consummation as communion with God.

In Plotinus the beauty of the soul leads on to the beauty of Intellect and this latter in its turn to the vision of the One and the Good. The beauty of the Good is indeed beyond intellection, and it is attainable only in mystic raptures of which Plotinus himself is said to have had personal experience. Rare and difficult as is the realisation of this primal Beauty, it is never regarded as impossible. "Let us, therefore, *re-ascend to the good itself, which every soul desires and in which it can alone find repose.*"¹ But in Spenser's Hymn, Good, the ultimate beauty remains hidden and is unattainable. The utmost that a human being can hope to attain to is the beauty of Sapience which stands for Intellect.

"Before the footestoole of his Majestie
Throw thy selfe downe, with trembling innocence,
Ne dare looke up with corruptible eye
On the dredface of that great Deity,
For feare, lest if he chaunce to looke on thee,
Thou turne to nought, and quite confounded be."

(H. H. B., St. 21.)

¹ Plotinus' Essay on the Beautiful.

Even the vision of Sapience is the reward of the elect.

"But who so may, thrise happie man him hold,
Of all on earth *whom God so much doth grace*
And lets *his owne Belored* to behold ;"

(H. H. B. St. 35.)

The last step in the ascent gives a view not of God but of the "soveraine light"—the light which issuing from God beautifies Sapience and which kindles a love of God in the beholder.

"And looke at last up to that Soveraine Light,
From whose pure beams al perfect beauty springs,
That kindleth love in every godly sight
Even the love of God ;"

(H. H. B., St. 43.)

There is a vein of mysticism in Spenser, clearly discernible in his hymns, especially in the last two. Plato's influence on Spenser was deep-rooted,

Mysticism in Spenser derived from the Neo-Platonists.

and "Plato is, after all, the father of European mysticism," though he does not enunciate any canon and though mysticism does not appear in him in a very pronounced form.¹ In Plotinus, however, mysticism is very prominent and "for the mediæval mystics Platonism meant the Philosophy of Plotinus adapted by Augustine."² Plotinus was the great source of mysticism in Italy during the Renaissance and mysticism lent its colour to the theories of love propounded by the Italian Platonists. In Spenser too we find not the subdued mystic trend but this traditional mysticism and the Hymns afford an

¹ Inge's *Christian Mysticism*, p. 78. Inge quotes Emerson's sentence "Mysticism finds in Plato all its text."

² Inge.

illustration of it as is done by Pico's Discourse and Benivieni's Ode of Love, the influence of which on Spenser has already been pointed out. The first creed of Mysticism is that the inner being in man has a distinct faculty for the apprehension of the Divine. This faculty is distinguished both from sense-perception and intellection or ratiocination. As Inge puts it, "We have an organ or faculty for the discernment of spiritual truth which, in its proper sphere, is as much to be trusted as the organs of sensation in theirs." The second proposition of

The creeds of mysticism.

mysticism is that man, "in order to know God, must be a partaker of the Divine nature."¹ "Without Holiness no man may see the Lord." Purgation as a means of purification and of partaking of the Divine nature is a necessary corollary to such a theory.

The mystic apprehension of Reality is more clear, and more vivid than ordinary perception. It is frequently portrayed *as a vision*, for to man sight is the most reliable mode of perception. In the Phædrus Truth, the highest Reality is described as an *object of vision*. In the Symposium also the Beauty of Absolute Existence which is the last rung in the ladder of dialectic ascent, is *figured forth as a glorious vision*. About *this vision* Plotinus says, "The perception of the

Intuition figured as vision.

highest God is not effected by science nor by intelligence, like other intelligibles, but by the presence of him, (*i.e.*, the good) which is a mode of knowledge superior to that of science. But the *vision of him* is now the work of one solicitous to perceive him." In Spenser's Hymn also the perception of Heavenly Beauty or Sapience is *figured as a vision*.

"Let Angels, which her goodly face behold
And see at will, her sovereign praises sing,"

(H. H. B., St. 34.)

That man is said to be happy who is permitted by God
to see His beloved or Sapience.

"For in the view of her celestiall face
All joy, all blisse, all happinesse have place."

(H. H. B. St. 35.)

But a vision of this kind is not possible unless the
beholder becomes *consubstantial with the object of his
vision*. Plotinus says, "He, however, will not arrive at
the vision of him.....he, I say, will not behold this light
who attempts to ascend to the vision of the supreme
while he is *drawn downwards by those things* which are
an impediment to the vision.....He, therefore, *who has
not yet arrived thither*, but either on

Intuition is possible
only when the subject is
consustantial with the
object to be perceived

account of the above-mentioned obstacle
is deprived of this vision or through the
want of reason which may conduct him to

it. Such a one may consider himself as the cause of his
disappointment through these impediments, and should
*endeavour by separating himself from all things to be
alone.*"¹ Thus the spiritual in man ought to separate
itself from the trammels of sense in order to have
similitude to Reality. Plotinus continues, "It is here
necessary that the *perceiver and the thing perceived should
be similar to each other before true vision can exist*.
Thus the sensitive eye can never be able to survey the
orb of the sun, unless strongly endowed with solar fire
and participating largely of the vivid ray. Everyone
therefore must become divine, and of godlike beauty,
before he can gaze upon a god and the beautiful
itself."

¹ Plotinus on the Good or the One, tr. T. Taylor.

Hence in the Hymne of Heavenly Love Spenser begs *Love to lift him up*, so that he might have a vision of Heavenly Love and sing its praises.

*"Love, lift me up upon thy golden wings,
From this base world unto thy heavens high,
Where I may see those admirable things
Which there thou workest by thy sovaine might,"*

(Hymne of Heavenly Love, St. 1.)

There is a similar invocation to Truth in the "Hymne of Heavenly Beautie."

*"Vouchsafe then, O thou most Almighty Spright!
From whom all guifts of wit and knowledge flow
To shed into my breast some sparkling light
Of thine eternal Truth, that I may show
Some litle beames to mortall eyes below"—*

(H. H. B. St. 2.)

Benivieni expresses a similar idea in the first stanza of his Ode of Love: the notion that similitude is necessary between two things before there can be realisation of the one by the other is prominent there also.

*"Love, from whose hands suspended hang the reins
Unto my heart, who in his high empire
Scorns not to feed the fire
By him enkindled in me long ago,
Would move my tongue, my faculties inspire
To tell what my enamored breast retains
Of him.....
Since love has promised to my sluggish thought
Those wings wherewith he entered first my breast" etc.*

When the two things, the beholder and the object of vision become similar, there results the mystic union. About this final union of consubstantial things Plotinus says, "Perhaps, however, neither must it be said that he sees, but that he is the thing seen; if it is necessary

to call these two things, *i.e.*, the perceiver and the thing perceived. *But both are one though it is bold to assert this.....* since, therefore (in the conjunction with Deity) there were not two things, but the perceiver was one with the thing perceived, *as not being (properly speaking) vision but union.*"¹ This aspect of mysticism is to be noted

and is transformed into, and united with, it. Plotinus, Pico, Benivieni and Spenser handle this aspect of mysticism.

in Pico also. He believes that the highest reality is secured only when the soul is transformed into and immersed in it, that man can comprehend Divinity only by being Divine. He writes, "The greater part of Men reach no higher than this (enjoyment of sensible beauty); others more perfect, remembering that more perfect Beauty which the soul (before immerst in the Body) beheld, are inflamed with an incredible desire of reviewing it, in pursuit whereof they separate themselves as much as possible from the Body, of which the soul (returning to its first dignity) becomes absolute Mistress. This is the Image of celestial Love, by which Man ariseth from one perfection to another, till his soul (wholly united to the Intellect) *is made an Angel. Purged from Material dross and transformed into spiritual flame by this Divine Power, he mounts up to the Intelligible Heaven, and happily rests in his Father's bosome.*" Referring to those who realise the Primal Being or have the privilege of approaching Heavenly Beauty, Spenser says,

"None thereof worthy be, but those whom shee
Vouchsafeth to her presence to receave,
And letteth them her lovely face to see,
Whereof such wondrous pleasures they conceive,
And sweete contentment, that it doth bereave
Their soule of sense, through infinite delight,
And them transport from flesh into the spright."

(H. H. B. St. 37.)

¹ Plotinus on the Good or the One.

The 8th Stanza of Benivieni's sonnet puts in a nutshell the process by which human soul is refined and attains consubstantiation with the Primal Essence prior to its full realisation, *i.e.*, prior to union with it.

"The soul thus entering in the Minde,
There such uncertainty doth finde,
That she to clearer Light applies
Her Armes, and near the first sun flies."

In its conception of Abstract Beauty the Gli Eroici Furori of Giordano Bruno bears some resemblance to Spenser's Hymne of Heavenly Beautie and it is just possible that there was some actual connection between these two works, though Professor Elton¹ definitely negatives the suggestion of Bruno's influence on Spenser. An exposition of the mystic creed is the object of both these works and the method of communion with the Divine is borrowed from the Philosophy of the Neo-Platonists by both. Here apparently is a field for investigation. Intellectual Beauty is the object of Bruno's passion as Sapience is the object of search in Spenser's Hymne of Heavenly Beautie. Like Spenser, Bruno describes the

Heavenly Beauty in
Spenser, Bruno and
Shelley.

charms of the object of his desire with
an ecstatic rapture which even pas-
sion for a woman could hardly have
inspired.² As steps leading to this ultimate Beauty, Bruno like Spenser describes other forms of beauty arranged according to their fineness. Corresponding to these forms of beauty, there are also forms of love in a similar grade of purification. These things strongly suggest Bruno's influence on Spenser's Hymn.

Bruno's poem has often been compared with Shelley's Hymn to Intellectual Beauty. So far as its bare subject-matter is concerned, this poem may also be compared

¹ Modern studies—Giordano Bruno in England.

² Owen's Sceptics of the Italian Renaissance, p. 312.

with Spenser's Hymne of Heavenly Beautie. In both the ideal is Intellectual Beauty. But Shelley's conception of Intellectual Beauty and his handling of it are altogether different. The traditional mysticism of the Neo-Platonists finds no place in Shelley's poem. Though in Spenser Intellectual Beauty has an exalted position, it can be realised inwardly through successive stages of ascent beginning with the sensible beauty of this mundane region as the first step. In Shelley Intellectual Beauty is not realisable as such; it rather manifests itself as an added grace to the things of the world. Neither is there in Shelley any ladder of ascent to this final Reality, for which Spenser is indebted to Plato. Shelley's Intellectual Beauty resembles rather the Pattern of Beauty in Plato's Timaeus and in Spenser's Hymne in honour of Beautie, which irradiates the things of this world and imparts beauty and grace to them. Shelley's apostrophe to Beauty runs thus:

"Spirit of Beauty, that dost consecrate
With thine own hues all thou dost shine upon
Of human thought or form."¹

¹ Hymn to Intellectual Beauty.

CHAPTER XI.

THE SONNETS—NEO-PLATONISM THROUGH FRENCH SONNETEERS.

The debts of the Elizabethan Sonnet to foreign literatures have recently been very accurately estimated.¹ Probably in no other branch of English Literature is outside influence so clearly marked. The obligation is not confined to the literary form alone but very often takes the shape of a close imitation of sentiment and imagery and a literal translation of the language. The pioneers of the English Sonnet, Wyatt and Surrey, followed Petrarch mainly, while their successors drew considerably on the French imitators of Petrarch, the Sonneteers of the La Pléiade School.

Foreign influence on
the Elizabethan Sonnet
—French and Italian.

The Sonnet in the 15th and 16th centuries was dominated by the Petrarchan spirit and his note of spiritual love. The conventional sonnet has always this stereotyped theme. It is difficult to trace the source of spiritual love in Petrarch. Italy in Petrarch's days was undergoing a vast transformation. Various intellectual and

How far the conception of love in the Petrarchan Sonnet was Platonic and how far chivalric.

moral forces had come together out of which the Italian Renaissance was to be produced. Free thought, Catholicism, the decaying spirit of chivalry and an interest in the classics were some of the factors of the movement. It is undoubtedly true that the homage paid to woman in Petrarch's sonnets had its source in chivalric love and in

¹ Sir Sidney Lee's Introduction to the Elizabethan Sonnets.

the poetry of the Trouvères and the Troubadours. Says Owen, "His own sonnets are, to a great extent, polished echoes and reproductions of the old poem of chivalry; and so far he may be called a successor of the Trouvères and Troubadours."¹ But the elevation of woman to an idealistic extreme—her identification with a spiritual and moral being—was the result of the "new cultus of the Virgin, which since the time of St. Bernard had taken such vigorous root in the religious sentiment of Catholicism."² The physical charms with which the imagination of religious enthusiasts invested the Virgin were attributed to the earthly mistress to whom was also transferred the worship worthy to be offered to the Virgin. But the intellectual note in the sonnets of Petrarch and the veiled identification of the lady with Truth can only be due to the direct influence of Plato or to Neo-Platonism.

This conception of ideal love formed of so many elements passed into other countries along with the sonnet form. After Petrarch Italian Platonists like Ficinus, Pico and Castiglione elaborated the Platonic idea of love which means love of intellectual beauty.

Further elaborations of the Platonic idea of love after Petrarch by Italian Neo-Platonists appear in French Sonnets whence they are taken by Spenser.

The French sonneteers, indebted as they were to Petrarch for the sonnet-form and for the literary treatment of the stereotyped theme of spiritual love between man and woman, availed themselves of the more refined theories of the later Italian Platonists and used them in their sonnets. Spenser like other Elizabethan sonneteers borrowed much from the La Pléiade School and many of the *Platonic ideas in his sonnets* are to be traced *not directly* to Plato or his commentators or to Petrarch but to the productions of Ronsard, Du Bellay, Desportes, Pontus de Thiard and other French poets of this school.

¹ Sceptics of the Italian Renaissance.

² Owen, p. 50.

It is beyond the scope of this chapter to point out the Petrarchism of Spenser's sonnets. Though Spenser was more indebted to the French school than to Petrarch directly, there is no lack of stereotyped Petrarchan conceits in his sonnets because, as mentioned above, the French school was not only soaked in the Petrarchan spirit but was also a close imitator of Petrarch—of his imagery and conceits in all their details. Its borrowings from the Italian Neo-Platonists were super-imposed on this Petrarchism and did not supplant it.

It has already been discussed how in his Hymns Spenser is indebted to the refinements on the idea of Platonic Love by Ficinus, Pico and Castiglione. According to Pico and Castiglione there are six stages of a lover's progress towards the final realisation of Beauty. The first is the impression of the beauty of his beloved on his mind, the second is the idealisation of this beauty, the third is the universalisation of beauty, the fourth is the realisation of the beauty of the beloved as an inherent part of the lover's own mind. This is what constitutes the 'Idea' of her beauty. In the fifth stage beauty is realised as an Absolute Entity. The first stage is represented by Pontus de Thiard in his *Erreurs Amoureuses* where he contrasts the impression of the lady's visage on the lover's heart with her portrait.

The stages of lovers' progress found in Pico reappear in Spenser's Sonnets through the La Pléiade School.

Quelqu'un voyant la belle pourtraiture
De ton visage en un tableau depeinte,
S'emerveilloit de chose si bien feinte,
Et qui suivoit de si pres la nature.

Helás, pensay-je, Amour par sa pointure,
A mieux en moy cette beauté empreinte
Cette beauté tant cruellement sainte,
Que, l'adorant, elle me devient dure.

Car ce tableau par main d'homme tracé,
 Au fil des ans pourroit estre effacé,
 Ou obscurci, perdant sa couleur vive :

Mais la memoire, empreinte en ma pensee,
 De sa beauté ne peut estre effacee
 Au laps du temps, au moins tant que je vive."

In Spenser sonnets No. XLV and XXII describe this stage ; in both what is reflected on the lover's mind is the full image of the beloved.

The first stage in Pontus de Thiard and in Spenser.

"Leave, lady ! in your glasse of cristall clene,
 Your goodly selfe for evermore to vew ;
And in my selfe, my inward selfe, I meane,
Most lively lyke behold your semblant trew.
 Within my hart, though hardly it can shew
 Thing so divine to vew of earthly eye,
 The fayre Idea of your celestially hew
And every part remains immortally :
 And were it not that, through your cruelty,
 With sorrow dimmed and deform'd it were,
The goodly ymage of your visnomy,
 Clearer then cristall, would therein appere."

"This holy season, fit to fast and pray,
 Men to devotion ought to be inclynd :
 Therefore, I lykewise, on so holy day,
 For my sweet Saynt some service fit will find.
Her temple fayre is built within my mind,
In which her glorious ymage placed is ;
 On which my thoughts doo day and night attend,
 Lyke sacred priests that never thinke amisse !"

The *idea of Beauty* or Beauty realised as part of the individual mind constitutes the fourth stage. Spenser refers to this notion in sonnets No. LXXVIII and LXXXVII.

The fourth stage in Du Bellay, Pontus de Thiard and in Spenser.

"I seeke her bowre with her late presence deckt ;
 Yet nor in field nor bowre I her can fynd ;
 Yet field and bowre are full of her aspect :
 But, when myne eyes I thereunto direct,
They ydly back retorne to me agayne :
 And, when I hope to see theyr trew object,
 I fynd my selfe but fed with fancies vayne.
 Cease then, myne eyes, to seeke her selfe to see ;
 And *let my thoughts behold her selfe in mee.*"

"Ne ought I see, though in the clearest day,
 When others gaze upon theyr shadowes vayne,
 But th' onely image of that heavenly ray,
 Whereof some glance doth in mine eie remayne.
Of which beholding the Idea playne,
Through contemplation of my purest part,
 With light thereof I doe my selfe sustayne,
 And thereon feed my love-affamisht hart.
 But with such brightnesse whylest I fill my mind,
 I starve my body, and mine eyes doe blynd."

Du Bellay refers to this "Idee" in his *L'Olive*. It is not however certain whether he means universal beauty or beauty only as part of the mind of the lover.

"Pourquoy te plaist l'obscur de nostrejour,
 Si pour voler en un plus clair sejour,
 Tu as au dos l'aile bien empanee ?
 La, est le bien que tout esprit desire,
 La, le repos ou tout le monde aspire,
 La, est l'amour, la, plaisir encore.
 La, ô mon ame au plus hault ciel guidee !
 Tu y pouras *reconoistre l'Idée*
De la beauté, qu'en ce monde j'adore."

Pontus de Thiard too refers to the 'Idee.' Thus he says :

"Mon esprit ha heureusement porté
 Au plus beau ciel sa force outrecuidée
 Pour s'abreuver en la *plus belle Idée*
 D'où le pourtrait j'ai pris de ta beauté,"

Spenser in his sonnets does not actually describe the realisation of the last form of Beauty or the Beauty of God, but in Sonnet No. LXXX he hints at the progressive realisation of a *higher entity* by the human soul and regards woman's beauty as a step to it.

“—give leave to me, in pleasant mew
To sport my muse, and sing my loves sweet praise ;
The contemplation of whose heavenly hew,
My spirit to an higher pitch will rayse,”

A similar notion is expressed in Du Bellay's *Sonnets de Honneste Amour* where the inspiring and purifying influence of female beauty is dwelt on.

“Ces deux soleils, deux flambeaux de mon âme,
Pour me rejoindre à la divinité
Percent l'obscur de mon humanité
Par les rayons de leur jumelle flâme.”

Sonnet No. LXXIX sets forth the nature of the Supreme Beauty which is called the “true beantie.” Spenser however speaks of it, in the manner of Plato, as the source of all material beauty including the beauty of his beloved.

The fifth or sixth stage in Ronsard and in Spenser.

“Men call you fayre, and you doe credit it,
For that your selfe ye dayly such doe see :
But the trew fayre, that is the gentle wit,
And vertuous mind, is much more prayسد of me :
For all the rest, how ever fayre it be,
Shall turne to nought and loose that glorious hew ;
But onely that is permanent and free
From frayle corruption, that doth flesh ensew.
That is true beantie : that doth argue you
To be divine, and borne of heavenly seed ;
Derivd from that fayre Spirit, from whom al true
And perfect beauty did at first proceed :”

The conception of the Prime source of Beauty here is the same as in the Hymne in honour of Beautie. In sonnet No. CLXVII of his *Amours*, Ronsard expresses his vehement desire of 'shuffling off the mortal coil' and of being immersed in Infinite Beauty.

" Je veux brusler, pour m'en-voler aux Cieux
 Tout l'imparfait de ceste escorce humaine,
 M'éternisant comme le fils d'Alcemeine,
 Qui tout en feu s'assit entre les Dieux.
 Ja mon esprit, chatouillé de son mieux,
 Dedans ma chair rebelle se promeine,
 Et ja le bois de sa victime ameine
 Pour s'enflammer aux rayons de tes yeux.
 O saint brasier ! ô feu chastement beau !
 Las ! brule moi d'un si chaste flambeau,
 Qu' abandonnant ma depouille connue,
 Net, libre et nud, *je vole d'un plein sant*
Jusques au Ciel, pour adorer là haut
L'autre beauté dont la tienne est venue !"

In the last two lines Ronsard suggests like Spenser that worldly beauty is derived from Absolute Beauty in Heaven. In his *Erreurs Amoureuses* Pontus de Thiard sings similarly of Divine Beauty which is also described as the Universal Idea.

" Père divin, sapience éternelle,
 Commencement et fin de toute chose,
 Où en pourtrait indeleble repose
 De l'Univers, *l'Idée universelle :*"

Spenser's debt to the French sonneteers in respect of his Platonism has been dealt with here only in outline. To do justice to the topic it is necessary to go into it more fully. Though Platonic ideas in Spenser's sonnets have filtered through Petrarch and the La Pléiade School, there are instances where the debt to Plato seems to be direct.

Beauty causing amazement in sonnet No. III reminds one of the Phaëdrus. The immense power for good attributed to chaste love and beauty in sonnet No. III is also a purely Platonic idea occurring in the speech of Phaëdrus in the Symposium, though it is common in Petrarch also. Spenser deals with such chaste love in the third book of the Faerie Queene.
